INDUSTRIAL HERITAGE AS A CATALYST FOR URBAN REGENERATION IN THESSALONIKI

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Abstract

Greece is experiencing a prolonged economic crisis, which also exhibits social and cultural dimensions. One of the cultural dimensions is the dereliction of the industrial heritage sites and the lack of alternative planning approaches for their future exploitation. The study examines the challenges of regenerating an industrial heritage in Thessaloniki through the involvement of three types of communities (community of action, place and interest) in order to work as a catalyst for the city by considering the local creative industries as a possible future use. It does so by examining various aspects; what is the significance of the industrial heritage, what are the heritage regeneration processes employed so far along with their challenges, whether collaborative approaches are valid for such undertakings and what is the nature and the role of the creative industries in urban regeneration. As the socio-economic conditions prevalent in an area play a dominant role in forming relationships, it selects a case-study – the Allatini Mills, and an area of interest – Thessaloniki, Greece, in combination with an investigation of the creative industries active in the particular city by employing a multitude of qualitative methods. This allows for a qualitative analysis that generates empirical data to identify the existing challenges of the Allatini Mills and, based on them, promotes and supports the rescuing of a historic building from possible demolition or continuous dereliction. This thesis in overall sits within the field of urban regeneration and contributes in finding what the challenges of converting an industrial heritage site in Thessaloniki into an urban catalyst for the city are.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Origins of the research

In this introduction, I would like to start by presenting aspects of my personal background in an attempt to better explain the origins and drive of this study. I was born and raised in Thessaloniki, a medium-sized city in northern Greece (Figure 1). From a young age, I admired the strong cultural identity of the city and the traces of past that surrounded my everyday life. I always had the feeling that Thessaloniki has many hidden layers of history surrounded by blocks of flats (*polykatoikia*), where a big part of the history has been left to its fate. On the one hand, the ancient relics of the past have received the greatest attention from the city's local authorities, who have concentrated most of their preservation efforts on them. On the other hand, the modern built-heritage (dated from the late 19th century to early 20th century) – which is mostly privately owned – is either exploited by its owners and transformed into commercial spaces or left abandoned. A big part of the modern heritage is constituted of the industrial heritage sites, which occupy large spaces within the city. As such, I have always wondered whether there is a viable option for these spaces to become usable again without converting them to one more restaurant, bar or apartment for the city, as there are already plenty of them around. At an older age, I began taking an interest in the city's commons and tried to find ways to actively contribute. It was at that point that I became an active member of the *Dynamo* creative space – a very unique place for the city, which was a combination of a research lab, a creative atelier, a think tank, a library, an exhibition space and a meeting place. This space gave me, and others like me, the opportunity to meet and listen to different stories from local creative workers who were promoting their work there. This created a pool of like-minded people that came to realise the power that a community can have, and that more spaces like Dynamo – spaces of cooperation and creativity – are needed. Thus, the idea of exploring the industrial heritage of Thessaloniki and investigating its regeneration as a catalyst for urban regeneration was born – along with the possibility of involving the local creative workers in it.

Under this vein, this thesis reviews, examines and analyses the urban regeneration processes for industrial heritage in order to find out the present challenges and consequently to inform the future exploitation of Thessaloniki's industrial heritage. The importance of safeguarding these heritage sites mainly relies on their tangible and intangible significance that this study reveals through the critical view of the information contained on the industrial heritage site under investigation. The thesis is also strongly informed by the economic crisis and the corresponding difficulties that have arisen as well as the birth of new creative assets in Thessaloniki after the outbreak of the crisis on 2009. This asset places the role of the creative industries within the urban regeneration in the forefront by questioning whether the recent-established local creative space can be a possible future use for the industrial heritage in Thessaloniki.

In order for the reader to be more familiar with the area of interest – Thessaloniki – and the reason of focusing on a specific site – the Allatini Mills – in all its complexity, the next two sub-sections include a short introduction of Thessaloniki's and Allatini Mills' cultural background along with its current problems.

Figure 1: Aerial view of Thessaloniki (Thessaloniki Travel, 2019)

1.2 Research background: Thessaloniki

Thessaloniki is the second largest city of Greece. It is located in the north and has an uninterrupted strong history of over 2,300 years. From an administrative perspective, the metropolitan area consists of 11 municipalities with the Municipality of Thessaloniki holding the central position among them (Pitidis et al, 2018). The Municipality's population numbers 324,766, while the Metropolitan Area accounts for around 1.12 million residents (census, 2011). Thessaloniki has experienced extremes of both growth and decline, but still keeps a strong historical character derived from a combination of its topography and the multiculturalism of its habitants.

Thessaloniki was founded in 315BC by king Cassander of Macedonia and rapidly became one of the major cities of the kingdom during the Hellenistic Era. After the fall of the Macedonian kingdom, when Romans conquered Greece, Thessaloniki became the capital of one of the four Roman districts of Macedonia along with being an important trade centre that was connecting Europe to Asia (Grammenos, 2003). A great number of the built-structures of the Roman era (roman forum, hippodrome, triumphal arch, palace of the roman Caesar) are preserved to this day (Figure 2). During the same era, a pivotal event for the economic development of the city was the formation of the first Jewish community. When the Byzantine era came, the city was further developed. A new port was constructed along with various religious buildings – mainly churches – of significant architecture (Chassiotis, 1997). At the time, the population was increasing and most of Thessaloniki's residents were involved in trade related businesses (Treadgold, 1997) with Jews especially creating many industries within the city's urban fabric. Over the next years, numerous attacks took place by other Empires, but, remarkably, Thessaloniki managed to remain a flourishing commercial centre. In the early 15th century, however, the Byzantine Emperors were unable to protect the city from the Ottoman Empire (1430-1912) and was eventually conquered by the Turks. During the Ottoman Empire period, significant infrastructure was built ranging from industrial buildings to mosques and baths with some of them survive until today (Tsaktsiras, 2003).

Figure 2: The Roman relics of the past in Thessaloniki (author's own, 2015)

During the First Balkan War, Thessaloniki was liberated from the Turks, but the city maintained its Ottoman administrative structure in order to avoid the possibility of economic and social disintegration (Errington, 1990). Some years later, a devastating fire broke out in the city and a large central part of the city was destroyed. This event marked the evolution of the city by changing its urban character dramatically and transformed it into one of the major projects of European urbanism of the 20th century (Karadimou-Gerolympou, 1995). The famous French architect Ernest Hébrard was in charge of the new town planning, designing a modern layout and appearance that remains almost the same until today. The city doubled in size during 1922-1924, due to the emigration from Asia Minor and, consequently, new *polykatoikies* were created (Pentzopoulos, 2002).

Thessaloniki's industry was a segment of local culture, lifestyle and economic wellbeing, since it was the city's portal to Europeanisation. If someone walks through the city, it is hard to miss the significant cultural identity emanating not only from the ancient and roman times but also from the modern industrial ones. Thessaloniki was and still is one of the most important commercial gateways for

the Balkans and the wider Eastern Mediterranean region (Verani et al, 2015). Although the city suffered five centuries of Ottoman occupation, its development never stopped. As the population continued to grow with a mixture of Greek, Muslims and Jews inhabitants. The Jewish community contributed to the city's economic, commercial and cultural strength to a great extent by establishing mills, tanneries, textile industries and many more trade businesses that amplified the economy of the city. In the beginning of 1900s, Thessaloniki was in full economical and industrial development with more than thirty registered factories (Varela and Boutidou, 2000). This fact placed it among the most important commercial centres of the Southeast Europe. In 1922, there were more than a hundred factories in the city and, before the Second World War, the original number had increased substantially to 428 units. However, after almost a century, a gradual process of relocation of Thessaloniki's industry and the abandonment of the original industrial sites took place. This caused a large part of the productive fabric to remain inactive and become redundant, including both the building stock and the human capital. In terms of the building stock, during the late 1950s and 1960s, the majority was demolished and their owners (private) saw them as a great real estate opportunity by making way for *polykatoikies* (Aesopos, 2012), while others remained abandoned. The present shape of the city centre was largely shaped by the demand for space to build that, at the time, was mainly met by the so-called polykatoikies, five to twelve story buildings with mixed uses and situated one next to the other (Mentesidou, 2017). However, during the 1980s, there was a realisation in Greece that industrial sites form part of the cultural heritage and, thus, their demolition were interrupted and part of them designated as heritage sites. At that time, a few industrial heritage sites under public ownership were transformed and reused with a cultural purpose while some others, under private ownership, were regenerated for leisure activities. However, most of the industrial heritage sites of Thessaloniki that belong to the second category - the most numerous one - appear to be abandoned.

From 2009 onwards, the economic crisis has influenced the urban fabric of the city a lot, since there were massive foreclosures of businesses contributing to the rates of unemployment and to urban degradation. The lack of finance resulted in the further marginalisation of Thessaloniki's rich heritage, making its physical

degradation more visible and the local community's attachment looser. Within this difficult economic, cultural and social situation of the city, a new economic asset was created (Lambrianidis, 2011). Various local people decided to go against their unemployment by placing their knowledge, skills and creativity in the forefront and establishing small-sized creative spaces. These people can be characterised as the new generation of (creative) workers who combine their practice and skills effectively by reinventing new products. These spaces can be seen as partly reviving the craftsmanship that was prevalent on the city's past and now offer a new perspective of creativity. Therefore, this study sheds light on these spaces by exploring their economic, cultural and social input, characteristics as well as values. This analysis has as an ultimate goal to understand their prospects as a possible use for the future regeneration of the industrial heritage along with the downsides of such a proposal.

Through the brief overview of the history of Thessaloniki, there is a primary understanding of the city's cultural significance along with the dilapidating state of its industrial heritage sites, making the call for their protection urgent. Within this situation, the birth of the creative spaces and their contribution to the city cannot be ignored. The questions now posed for Thessaloniki in terms of its industrial heritage are: *what are the challenges of the present that need to be overcome? what kind of future do the various people involved and attached want for these sites?* and *how can the knowledge and revelations of the economic crisis inform their future?*

In the effort of this research to answer the above-mentioned questions and exploit the idea that industrial heritage can act as a catalyst for urban regeneration, a truly iconic industrial heritage site of Thessaloniki is chosen, an introduction to which is included in the next subsection.

1.3 Research case study: The Allatini Mills

The Allatini Mills is a former industrial complex in Thessaloniki, which is historical as it signified the beginning of the industrialisation for the city. In the early decades of the 19th century, the Allatini Mills was the capital of industrial development for the northern part of Greece and, consequently, is now

considered as an integral part of the collective memory of Thessaloniki. Both the tangible and intangible substance of the Allatini Mills for the city are recorded throughout its historical account; an account referring to the social, economic and cultural value of this site and complemented by its scientific and technological value in history of construction, manufacturing and engineering for Thessaloniki. One of its most obvious values in the present era is the aesthetic one prevalent in the architectural design along with appearance of the main listed building. Moreover, the Allatini Mills is located in a privileged area close to the central area of the city and to the sea, which is now a highly densely-populated and a prime real estate site (Figure 3). Despite its historical significance, it still remains unutilised and awaits its re-inclusion in the active urban fabric of the city.

Figure 3: The Allatini Mills and its key position (author's own, 2017)

As Evangels Hekimoglou (2012), one of the most important historical writers of Thessaloniki, has stated:

> It is impossible to write about Thessaloniki's history without referring to the Immortal *Francos* (Memorable Families) of Allatini, Morpurgo and Fernandez (2012, 2).

Francos was the pseudonym attached to the rich families that formed the higher class of the local society. These families created commercial networks all over Europe and accumulated wealth because of their extraordinary entrepreneurial abilities. The Allatini family, of Spanish-Jewish origin, was the third richest family in Thessaloniki during the Ottoman Empire and was active in various commercial

sectors. They had entrenched themselves as an integral part of Thessaloniki's social fabric and were committed to the city's economic, social and cultural prosperity (Chatzigogas, 2000). It was the first family that imported industrial equipment, such as steam engines, pumps and motors from Europe to Thessaloniki (Kerem, 1999). They constructed an impressive array of buildings in European provinces throughout time, one of which was the Allatini Mills in 1854. It was the largest mill in the Balkans, equipped with 650 steam engines (Levy, 2002). The official pamphlet of Thessaloniki vilayet (district) around 1890 reads as follows:

> There are 27 factories and about 500 mills, which produce flour in our vilayet. The most important flourmill in Thessaloniki is owned by the Allatini family, employing 250 workers. As this seven-floor factory is powered by electricity, it may work even at night. This industry exports also most of its products out of our vilayet (Hekimoglou, 2012, 22).

When its operation as an industry stopped, the Allatini Mills was designated as a historical monument (listed buildings) and in the following years its latest private owners attempted to regenerate it (Ioannidis, 2012). In spite of the regeneration effort, the industrial heritage site ended up abandoned and now lies in a state of disrepair and extensive material damage. But, in order to offer the reader a better overview on the historical significance along with evolution of the specific industrial site, the researcher has created a historical timeline of the Mill, from its foundation until today (Figure 4). This timeline presents the most significant chronological periods of the Allatini Mills and the equivalent events that took place. This timeline proves the extensive historical significance and the complexity of the Allatini Mills' case.

Timeline during the Ottoman Empire

1715 – The Allatini family, Jews of Spanish origin, came from Florence to Thessaloniki.

1854 – The Allatini Mills built by the French architect Darblay de Corblay in cooperation with Allatini brothers.

1857 – The first steam mill of Thessaloniki operates.

1848 – Allatini family creates the first brick and tile production industry. The two industries of the Allatini family plays a leading role in Thessaloniki's economic development.

1883 – Moses Allatini, one of the richest men of the city, buys the share from Darblay de Corblay. The Allatini Mills is owned and managed entirely by Allatini family.

1897 – The Allatini Mills and ceramics industry from personal businesses are incorporated under Societe Anonyme Ottomane Industrielle et Commerciale de Sallonique. Its share capital is 3 million francs and is one of the few public limited companies in the Ottoman Empire.

1898 – The central building of the Mills is burned down.
The governing board issues a bond loan from the Paris Stock Exchange and rebuilds it.
The (present-day) Mills is designed by the famous Italian architect Vitaliano Poselli, being one of the largest industrial building in the Orient and Poselli's most impressive work.

1900 – The Allatini Mills re-operate and the Allatini family holds a leading position in Thessaloniki. The Mills are considered as the biggest mill of the East and is the first steam-powered industry in Thessaloniki.

1911 – The Allatini Mills' clientele is numbering 5,000 professionals and private individuals.
The city's productive capacity expansion heavily relied on the Allatini Mills.

Timeline after Thessaloniki's liberation:

- 1913 – The Allatini family sells part of their shares and moves to Italy due to the First Balkan War.
- 1914 – The Mills has the largest production of flour with 250 employers. Allowances and benefits were offered to its workers and their families before the Greek State introduce them.
- 1917 – A devastating fire caused 9,500 buildings destroyed and 70,000 people left homeless in Thessaloniki. The Allatini Mills hosted and offered free bread to the fire victims.
- 1919 – The first worker union is established from the Allatini Mills' workers.
- 1920 – New facilities are built at the Mills site at their own expense for the production of flour and bread for the English and French troops. It becomes the main bread feeder of the city.
- 1922 – The Allatini Mills offered substantial donations of bread for the Asia Minor refugees and alleviate the scarcity of food.
- 1926 – The businessman Kosmas Panoutsos, president of the Hellenic Association of Industrialists and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, is the new manager of the Allatini Mills. The new administration consisted of 19 Greek businessmen.
- 1930 – Grinding capacity of the Mills doubles to 374 tonnes per day.
- 1938 – Another fire causes damage to the buildings.
- 1939 – The Allatini Mills start to operate again.
- 1971 – The surrounding area of the Allatini Mills site is designated as communal green space with the Royal Decree.
- 1984 – The first effort to designate the Allatini Mills as part of the industrial heritage. This designation declared invalid under Law 3619/1987 of the Supreme Court.

Timeline during the modern era:

- 1950 – Marietta Panoutsou - Manou and Irene Panoutsou - Vrahnou take over the management of the industry. The urbanization of the city affects the Allatini Mills' neighbourhood and many polykatoikies are built. A lack of architectural dynamic between the Mills and the neighbour buildings.
- 1978 – The operation of the Allatini Mills stops.
- 1980 – An attempt to regenerate the Allatini Mills starts.
- 1991 – 14 buildings of the Allatini Mills were designated as listed along with the immediate surrounding space under Law 1469/1950.
- 1992 – New permissible building ground rate is granted, 2% higher than the rest of the area. The owners of the Allatini Mills acquired the permission to construct new buildings within the 110,000 square meters of the site.
- 2003 – Construction approval of new building units within the surrounding space of the Allatini Mills by the Greek state. The local community files objection against the approval and sends an appeal to the Supreme Administrative Court.
- 2008 – The Council of State stops any construction and the Allatini Mills ends up derelict.
- 2008 to 2015 – Many young people use the former industrial site for graffiti, parkour and outdoor activities. Drug users find shelter within the derelict premises.
- 2015 – A child died inside the Allatini Mills site.
- 2016 – High fences are placed around the Mill to prevent people from accessing it.

Figure 4: Historical timeline of the Allatini Mills (author's own, 2019)

Despite the long historical evolution and changes of the Mill, two aspects that did not change over time are its name and its distinct location (Kolonas, 2016). It is located inside the urban fabric of Thessaloniki and is positioned between the seaside front and two central roads (Antheon St. and Laskaratou St.). The area that surrounds the Allatini Mills is a real paradigm of the *polykatoikia* effect, since it is densely populated with mixed-use buildings which, however, skew heavily towards the residential use. When you walk in the area of the Allatini Mills, you can see buildings of different architectural styles - mainly neoclassical – but the ones that are predominant are the polykatoikies and the Allatini Mills itself. It still holds the same position of pride as it did in the past and consists one of the few Thessaloniki's industrial and architectural gems.

This short introduction on the case study gets more attention throughout the analysis chapters. More specifically, Chapter 4 explores the historical account of

the Allatini Mills through archival materials and the testimonies of the people living around the Mill, who retain memories with a strong sense of nostalgia and attached identity for the Mills. The same chapter also serves as a big contribution to knowledge, since the complete history of the Allatini Mills is not publicly available and, therefore, this study aims to create a complete picture of the Mills' historical significance and to re-narrate it. In continuation, Chapter 5 explores the complexities introduced for the site when the Mill closed and, more precisely, when the process of heritage designation and the regeneration attempt took place. The study sheds light on the challenges in reaching an agreement in the future; who the key decision-makers have been; what options have been proposed and by whom; how the site may have been caught up in the economic crisis; what the difficulties of a derelict site are. The analysis of Chapter 5 strengths the determination of the present study to turn to the consideration of the complexity of the past, as it serves as a lesson for future actions in order for a new alternative regeneration scheme to take place whilst facing the minimum facing.

Overall, the historical aspects of the Allatini Mills have led the researcher to focus on the specific industrial heritage in all of its complexity and examine it in depth. However, this decision was also influenced by the researcher's personal affiliation and knowledge as part of the city's local community, who have a great interest to see this former industrial site rise again under a new use. This interest has also been confirmed by the near past actions and the uncompleted attempt to regenerate this site. This case study serves as a basis for the study to evaluate the complexity of the future regeneration of the Allatini Mills and the rejuvenation of Thessaloniki's industrial heritage as a catalyst for urban regeneration. Bearing in mind that Thessaloniki is suffering from severe socio-economic changes and one of the biggest challenges it faces nowadays seems is the planning of a sustainable urban development in order to enhance its historical identity; an identity that, according to Lantitsou et al (2017) makes this city unique and special.

1.4 Research aim, question and objectives

Before introducing the main aim of this research, Diagram 1 (see also Appendix A) presents the main points that have contributed to the creation of the research aim and question, which are explored in depth in the upcoming chapters. The main core of this study, as was discussed previously, is an industrial heritage site in Thessaloniki but in a broader context this study discusses this topic from the scope of urban regeneration studies. More specifically, it adopts the viewpoint that urban regeneration is a comprehensive and integrated action that aims at solving problems and improving the economic, social and environmental condition of an area subject to change. This action mainly arises from the transformation of urban historical industrial areas in order to prevent the perception of their decline and, therefore, allow the possibility of revitalisation. Under this scope, it is profound that the industrial heritage should be preserved for the present and future generations, not only as part of a city's identity and memory but also as a reintroduction of socio-economic development in urban environments through a regenerative process.

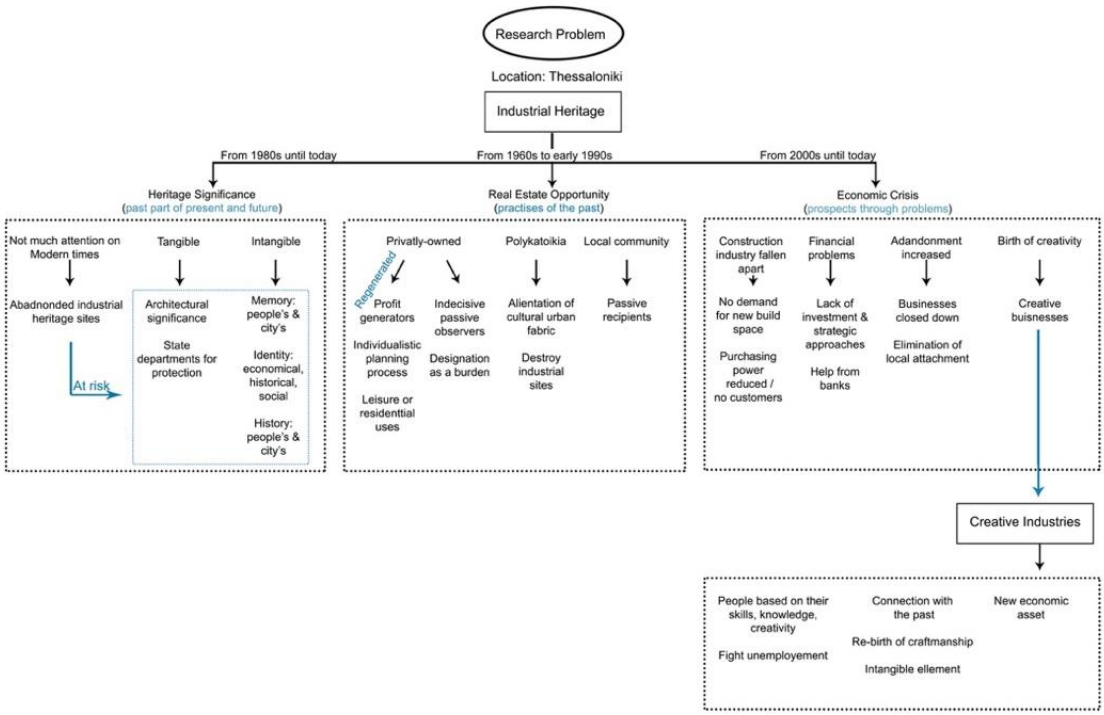


Diagram 1: The main points of exploration for this study (author's own, 2019)

In this context, the study introduces and analyses the case of the Allatini Mills which can prove beneficial and inspirational for Thessaloniki's society and similar former industrial heritage sites. The main argument of this study relies on the shift from individualistic practices to more collaborative ones. This argument has been shaped not only through the recent literature but also through my attendance in several conferences in the last few years. One example of such a conference was in the latest European Cultural Heritage Summit in 2018 that took place in Berlin. The Summit's title was "Sharing Heritage, Sharing Values" and its main focal point was the conversion of the role of the local society from passive recipients to active actors.

The overarching aim of this research is to understand the complexity of regenerating an industrial heritage in Thessaloniki in order to work as a catalyst for the city. Part of this aim examines the possibility of using the local creative industries as an attributed use for such spaces. An important role in addressing this aim is the identification of the locality of the industrial heritage site; a role that is fulfilled by the community that serves as the main contributor and beneficiary of an urban regeneration project. In this study, the particular concept is developed around three communities: the community of action (heritage owners, planners and policy-makers), the community of place (local community situated around the case study heritage site) and the community of interest (the creative workers as future users). However, in order to achieve the main aim, it is equally important to develop an appropriate research question. This question is:

> *What are the challenges in using an industrial heritage site as a catalyst for urban regeneration?*

In order to fulfil the main aim and question, the following objectives are achieved through the study:

- To explore and review the industrial heritage significance in terms of its tangible and intangible elements.

- To explore and review the urban regeneration processes for industrial heritage, the additional limitations imposed by the economic crises and the new informed practices.

- To explore and review urban transformation through creativity developed by the creative industries and the role they play in industrial heritage regeneration.

- To develop a method applicable to answer the research question and contribute to the exploration of the thesis subject.

- To explore and analyse the historical significance of the Allatini Mills in terms of its economic, social and cultural aspects from its establishment until its closure.

- To explore and analyse the added complexity introduced to the Allatini Mills site after it closed down and the way economic crisis has informed it.

- To identify, explore and analyse the possible future uses of the Allatini Mills by analysing in depth the capabilities of creative industries.

- To pull together all the evidence and understand the magnitude of the complexity that the regeneration of the Allatini Mills is likely to entail.

- To generate conclusions in order to understand whether the main aim is fulfilled.

1.5 Methodological approach

The methodological approach followed is the case study, since the main aim implies the development of detailed knowledge of a specific industrial heritage site and the above-mentioned communities in Thessaloniki (Kvale, 1996; Stockrocki, 1997; Hammersley, 1998). The methods in use are qualitative, because this study is interested in the opinions and the perspectives of the various communities in question, as “knowledge emerges through dialogue” (Kvale, 1996, 125). In terms of the research design, the primary data are collected

during both a pilot and a main fieldwork study that took place in Thessaloniki through the use of archival records, fieldwork documentation and semi-structured interviews. Archival records are used in order to explore the historical significance of the case study (the Allatini Mills) in terms of its economic, social and cultural features and what effect it has on the city's fabric. Architectural fieldwork documentation is used to capture the present appearance of the Allatini Mills in order to analyse its significance within the current city's fabric as well as understand its transformation through time as informed by the previous method. Semi-structured interviews are used to explore the opinions, beliefs and perspectives of the three different communities in question (community of action, community of place and community of interest). By using these methods and analysing the emerging data, the study manages to answer the main research question.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 reviews the existing literature on industrial heritage through the lenses of urban regeneration and heritagisation. This review helps the study to conceptualise key ideas and frame the research topic by suitably informing it in the next chapters. The first part of the chapter (Section 2.2) answers the question: *why is the regeneration of industrial heritage important?* It focuses on the importance of industrial heritage for a city from the perspective of memory, identity and history as well as for the local community. It also reviews the relationship between remembering a built-heritage and the feeling of nostalgia. The second part of this chapter (Section 2.3) answers the question *why is an urban regeneration project needed for industrial heritage?* This question is addressed by discussing the relevant work on industrial heritage regeneration and the problems of heritagisation. It also reviews the effects of the financial crisis and the development of new informed regeneration practises. The third part of this chapter (Section 2.4) answers the question *which is the role of the creative industries in urban regeneration*? This part explores the creative industries as a sector and reviews its identity along with the development of the creative class and city. In the same part of the chapter, there is a discussion on the connection between creative industries and industrial heritage regeneration by exploring

successfully developed examples. In the end of this chapter, there is a discussion on the concept of community for a regeneration project along with the key communities of this study.

Chapter 3 contains a discursive account of the general philosophical approach adopted by this study as well as its methodological approach by providing details on the type of philosophy, approach, strategy, methods and time horizon. In the same chapter, there is an explanation of the procedures employed for the data analysis and a thorough account of the pilot and fieldwork study employed to inform the main research questions. In detail, it presents a qualitative methodological approach developed with the use of various qualitative methods – archival records, fieldwork documentation and semi-structured interviews – involving the community of action, community of place and community of interest. The use of various qualitative empirical evidence minimises the imperfections and biases associated with each individual method. This chapter concludes with the techniques adopted to organise and analyse the research data.

Chapter 4 analyses the data that explore for the historical significance of the Allatini Mills from its establishment until its closure. This analysis uses the archival material as well as the data from the semi-structured interviews. The latter is used in order to develop a critical understanding of the concept of the community of place and its association with the concepts of memory, identity and nostalgia of the case study. This chapter constitutes one of this study's main contributions, since it puts together the historical account and re-narrates the significance of the Allatini Mills past holistically.

Chapter 5 analyses and discusses the complexities introduced for the Allatini Mills when it closed: the problems in reaching an agreement in the future; who the key decision-makers have been; what options have been proposed and by whom; how the site has been caught up in the economic crisis; what the difficulties of a derelict site are. In this chapter, the concepts of communities of action and place come prominently into play. In more detail, it evaluates the attitudes and perceptions of the community of action and the community of place, while it analyses their relationship, their influence and the reflection of these two on the effort of regeneration. Part of this chapter aims to understand the mistakes

of the past in order not to repeat them in the future while the rest aims to analyse the problems caused to the area due to the Mills dereliction.

Chapter 6 examines the possible uses that this study reveals for the Allatini Mills by providing the context of the surrounding area of the Mill and analysing the different available options. It then analyses the creative spaces of Thessaloniki deeply and the reasons of considering them as a suitable future for the Mill. More specifically, it analyses the empirical results of the semi-structured interviews with the community of interest that profile the creative spaces of Thessaloniki and showcase their uniqueness. The definition, the identity, the creative process and the exerted influence of Thessaloniki's creative workers are also developed in the analysis. In the same chapter, there is a discussion of the downsides (inevitable gentrification) and upsides (a living site once again) that adds depth to the analysis.

Chapter 7 pull all the evidence together by providing a synthesis of all the empirical results towards the response to the main research question of the study. It discusses the complexity of regenerating the Allatini Mills in the future and the way it is likely to happen. This is succeeded by presenting the various challenges deriving from the collected data, which are also informed by the secondary research of Chapter 2. The results presented here are drawing on the main findings of this study and shape them into an integrated concise outcome.

Finally, Chapter 8 concludes with summarising the main findings of the study, and its limitations while indicating future research directions.

Chapter 2. Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter establishes a critical understanding of the existing body of urban regeneration literature on industrial heritage and creative industries studies. Through this chapter, it is argued that industrial heritage and creative industries are two important aspects of a city and their development depends on the goal of change that each city wants to bring. In accordance with the research objectives of this study, this review puts an emphasis on the first three objectives presented in Section 1.4 in order to draw on the existing literature and build a framework for this study. Section 2.2 traces the origins and the significance of the industrial heritage in terms of its contribution to the identity, history and memory of a city and its inhabitants. Section 2.3 focuses on the urban regeneration processes followed for industrial heritage sites throughout the years, their limitations and the new informed processes that have emerged in recent years. Section 2.4 highlights the creative industries as a sector that has been put in forefront for many European cities and their exploitation in urban transformation projects. The same section reviews the role of the creative industries for industrial heritage regeneration along with the exploration of (un)successful examples on the specific matter. It also reveals that the Greek literature on the specific topic is limited, as no such case has existed for Thessaloniki and there are no ongoing efforts in recognising the recent creative initiatives as part of urban renewal.

2.2 Industrial heritage significance

Industrial heritage is part of the representation of a society along with being part of a city's history, memory and identity. The understanding of this representation requires the exploration of the significance of industrial heritage, which also answers the question why the regeneration of industrial heritage is important for the present and future societies. This effort starts through a historical retrospective from industrialisation, onto de-industrialisation, and onto the designation of industrial sites as cultural heritage in Europe and Thessaloniki, by arguing that the re-narration of the past is framing an understanding of the

present. It then continues by investigating the industrial heritage role in shaping the collective memory and identity of a city through its tangible and intangible elements. Additionally, it examines the literature on the significance of industrial heritage for the local community of a city and presents the ways that the industrial heritage's past is constructed in the present through remembering. Finally, it places emphasis on today's societies and on the identity crisis that exists due to the uncertain economic and social environment, by focusing on the industrial heritage regeneration and exploring whether the preservation of heritage can play a catalytic role in reorienting a society's identity.

2.2.1 The emergence of industrial heritage

Industrial heritage has emerged due to the phenomenon of industrialisation followed by the subsequent deindustrialisation. Industrialization (from the 18th to the 19th century) marked a shift to powered, special-purpose machinery, factories and mass production, when agrarian and rural societies in Europe became industrial and urban. These changes occurred because industrialisation constituted a global progress as it was one of the most significant periods of "creative destruction" that human societies and natural landscapes experienced (Marr, 2012, 15). Cities acquired a new industrial facet and structures, as they were moving towards a global economy (Leontidou, 1995). This new landscape has been defined by the accumulation of industrial units resulting in an urgent demand for new infrastructure (Slotta, 1992). Within this evolving world economy, each country acquired a key economic position along with economic identity that was significant for each country's productive capacity expansion (Orange, 2008).

In Greece, the industrial upsurge was experienced during the late 1860s and a century later, during the second half of the 1970s, the country entered the phase of deindustrialisation (Verani et al, 2015). Thessaloniki was heavily influenced by industrialisation due to its key position, as its location between Asia and Europe was a really convenient point for importing and exporting routes. The busy commercial port of Thessaloniki contributed to the city's economic growth and cosmopolitan character. It was the second largest commercial port of Greece and of South-Eastern Europe. Thessaloniki experienced a major economical and industrial development with more than thirty registered factories such as textile,

pottery, brewery, mill, tannery and tobacco warehouses (Varela and Boutidou, 2000). Before the Second World War, the number of industrial units had significantly increased and Thessaloniki ended-up with 428 units (Agaliotou, 2015). Aside from the economic and structural alterations in Thessaloniki, the social landscape of the city changed significantly due to the creation of a middle working class that enjoyed the benefits of the new prosperity and their acquired dynamics (Graham et al, 2000; Stratton, 2000). As Philip Feifan Xie (2015, 28) argued, the "development of regionally based industries fostered the creation of new political institutions, social customs and cultural traditions". As an example, the working class created their own democratic structures and contributed financially to local colleges in order to sustain their rights, remain united and survive in industrialised cities running under new socio-economic conditions (Navarro, 2006). Industrialisation was a period of time that signalled major economic change in many cities for both Greece and the rest of Europe; the industrial units heavily contributed to this change and are now attributed with great historical significance. These units carry information about economy, politics, technology, production, labour and provide evidence of socio-economic change and transition.

The transition they convey marks the shift from industrialisation to de-industrialisation of cities that took place in the first half of the 20th century, where the cities' economic fortune shifted to decline and, as a consequence, the industrial units lost their primary use along with their economic value. This period of time caused various economic changes, such as the restructuring of the global trade system, relations and networks as well as the creation of a new asset of exploration on both theoretical and practical level (Stratton, 2000). Apart from the economic changes, the spatial changes that resulted from the emergence of the industrial ruins were equally significant (Xie, 2015). Entire cities went through a spatial re-organisation because the industrial units moved from the centre of the cities to their suburbs (Harrison, 2013). This re-structuring was also felt in Thessaloniki, as most of its industries were located within the urban fabric of the city and, after the de-industrialisation, part of the industries moved to a new area in the suburbs of the city called *Sindos* (Polyzos et al, 1998). This led to visible spatial and social effects as a building stock of former industries was created due to the removal of their original function (Stearns, 2012), along with the downgrade

of the social networks of the working-class (Xie, 2015). As such, the former industrial landscapes in the cities created a distinctive environment that presents both material (tangible) and immaterial (intangible) elements assigned to the industrial culture (Dillon et al, 2014) - along with all the memories attached to these landscapes that come from the working class and the people who lived through this transition.

These spatial changes have caused the imperative need of the industrial landscapes to re-emerge with new uses, as a no man's land was created between the former industrial buildings and the ascendant post-industrial economy (Rose, 1991; High and Lewis, 2007; Stearns, 2012). However, the introduction of the industrial ruins and relics into a wider preservation framework helped to drive it to this direction. Initially this happened through the introduction of the industrial archaeology concept by the historian Michael Rix in 1955 and later by the industrial heritage concept of *The International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage* (TICCIH). However, industrial archaeology received criticism on the basis that industrial ruins are perceived as objects of display instead of transformative forms that not only depict the past but also today's current situation (Webmoor, 2007; Harrison, 2013). Based on this criticism, the present study perceives industrial ruins as part of heritage and not of archaeology. This criticism led TICCIH in 1971 to officially introduce the industrial heritage sector by instigating international cooperation in preserving, investigating, documenting and researching industrial heritage issues. Until 2003, the industrial heritage sector was incomplete since there was no exact definition explaining what industrial heritage is (Xie, 2015). This struggle was amended by TICCIH (2003) on *The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage,* where a solid definition was provided by describing industrial heritage as:

> The remains of industrial culture which has historical, technological, social, architectural or scientific value. These remains consist of buildings and machinery, workshops, mills and factories, mines and sites of processing and refining, warehouses and stores, places where energy is generated, transmitted and used, transport and all its infrastructure, as well as places used for social activities related to industry such as housing, religious worship or education (2003, 1).

This definition was also adopted by the Greek state, although with significant delays compared to the European norm. Until that point, Zivas (2000) underlines that although Act 1469, referring to the protection of cultural sites dated after 1830, was promulgated in 1950, it only became a practice in the 1970s. In 1975, a new Constitution was adopted, whose Article 24 governed the protection of the cultural and natural environment (Mentesidou, 2017). The accountability for upholding these provisions was assigned to the Ministry of Culture and Sports, which formed public services named *Ephoria of Modern Monuments* to ensure compliance against the strict rules that guided protection, actions and interventions to the buildings.

The determination of industrial heritage was pivotal to the assessment of thousands of industrial sites as places worthy of preservation, justified in part for their role in the economic and cultural development of industrial communities (Oglethorpe, 2011). Therefore, after an industrial landscape is designated as part of the heritage, it is invested with multiple meanings that move beyond aesthetic principles to notions of belonging, identity and essence of place (Graham, 2002). In other words, all these assigned values of the industrial heritage are useful for a society because they manifest their past subjectivity, diversity and changeability as all of these aspects are part of a society's identity.

2.2.2 The power of industrial heritage in a city

Industrial heritage sites are symbols of national identity that have historical, social, economic and architectural value since they showcase the economic, political and technological changes an area has undergone. As such, they are part of something more than history (Moore and Whelan, 2007) and their existence exercises some sort of power within a city and its society.

Interpreting the past of the industrial heritage into the present, as was apparent in the previous sub-section, is achieved through history. However, in order for history to make better sense in the present and not be perceived in a fragmented way (Nora, 1996), it needs the people's memory to enrich the re-narration of the past; this way it creates an attachment of the people to the built-heritage. As

Patrick Hutton (2013) argues, people's memory might guide historical exploration by providing it with topics of interest. In this sense, the people become members of the history of a place again by considering society's memory, as O'Reilly et al (2017) claimed. Therefore, it is a matter of balancing these characteristics without one becoming predominant over the other and, hence, everyone can feel part of the past and not perceive either history or memory as something concrete (Kansteiner, 2002; O'Reilly et al, 2017). However, people's memory may be perceived in another way around by investigating the historical records of the past. As such, "it is a matter of disciplinary power rather than of epistemological privilege" (Olick and Robbins, 1998, 110) to combine history with memory. In other words, this study argues that one source cannot be used in isolation as people's and society's memory predominantly focus on emotional and lived experience whereas questioning the historical records of the past is devoid of experiential information. Thusly, only the combination of two can provide the whole picture of Thessaloniki's industrial heritage past.

During the examination of people's attachment to the built-heritage, it is important to note that this is interrelated to the influence they exert on one another. The commemoration of society's memory through built-heritage is observed as an active dialogue with the city and its society, where heritage has a dynamic appearance and creates new values for the present society (Winter, 2010). Memories are inscribed in the physical space and as the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1980; 1992) explained, collective memory is embedded within spatial frameworks. For him, these frameworks are based on the use of the built environment as a shared reference in order to build cultural bonds (Crinson, 2005; Olick et al, 2011). As Christine M. Boyer (2006) specifically indicates, heritage is part of the material order of the city that is unified with its social reality through a dialectical relationship between people and space. In addition, for Jan Assmann (2011), the existence of built-heritage acts as an apparatus of active memory and preserves the past to the present, while for Maria Lewicka (2008, 212) these places act as a "set of urban reminders". Under the vein of this study, the traces of memory that act as urban reminders are defined as "the material forms of ruined factories and their abandoned infrastructures" (DeSilvey and Edensor, 2015, 4). In this sense, the industrial heritage forms the constant point of reference for people to identify and connect to their past.

Therefore, the presence of industrial heritage has the ability to create a strong sense of continuity with the past (Hayden, 1995; Winter, 2010), facilitate attachment to a place (Low and Altman, 1992) and shape the sense of belonging to the people (O'Reilly et al, 2017). These characterisations describe the degree of influence these places can have to the current memory of a city and its inhabitants.

This degree of influence is also responsible for the stronger place-attachment to a neighbourhood, city district and to a city in general that people show when they live in places endowed with historical material traces. As opposed to the loose or even non-existence of attachment with the people who live in modern city quarters (Lewicka, 2008; Erll, 2011). Therefore, the preservation of the industrial heritage is important in order to keep people's memory attached to their past in the present as well as maintain the past into something visible and ascertain its existence for the city's future. By cultivating a sense of personal attachment to industrial heritage, "local knowledge, human contacts, landscapes, memories and experiences are meaningfully maintained" (Reeves et al, 2011, 313). As a result, one can argue that it is fundamental, in the investigation of industrial heritage to, firstly, examine whether there is still an active dialogue between the society and the built-heritage space and, secondly, to thoroughly reveal the place attachment people project to the industrial heritage through their memories.

This strong connection between people and built-heritage also represents the rights that people have to these places (Hay, 1998; Isar et al, 2011). These rights, according to Janssen et al (2017), can be expressed through identifying the knowledge of the people about an event that happened in a landscape, district or building. When memories are expressed, represented and sensed, they allow people to project their feelings and emotions on a past experienced event (Harris et al, 2008; Hansen, 2011). This event can inspire as well as guide spatial planning, which assumes a narrative dimension through interpreting the different stories of the people. Such a spatial planning is making built-heritage more recognisable and perceivable for the people, and consequently heritage inspires and is fully integrated to the city and its inhabitants (Meurs, 2016).

However, the main precariousness of memory interpretation is, as Sharon MacDonald (2013) has argued for, these spaces to end-up as *memorylands* because they largely focus on celebrating memory in itself. She specifically stated that:

> Memoryland might easily be the name of theme-park, or section of one; and “place marketing” and “mage-management” are certainly involved in producing historicised villages, towns and cityscapes across Europe (MacDonald, 2013, 4).

At the same time, it is quite necessary to make people’s stories or/and memories part of a future development of the built-heritage because the contemporary world has already been challenged by the “dichotomy between heritage as a cultural resource and heritage as a capitalist item for consumption” (McCarthy, 2005, 10). In the latter case, the development incentive dominates and, as Hilar Winchester et al (2003) argued:

> some histories are privileged while others are expunged from the collective memory… In the process of place marketing, history and landscape are commodified into saleable chunks (2003, 135).

Thessaloniki does not escape this premise, as the risk of commodification arises from the fact that the main agents of heritage are its owners, who may perceive it as a land of profit instead of a place of memory and identity (Beriatos and Papageorgiou, 2012). Therefore, the challenge lays in striking a balance between interpreting people’s memory and maintaining the main agent’s interests within the exploitation of the built-heritage. This way, an active dialogue is fostered, and the next stage of the development mainly emerges “from the stories and memories of local inhabitants in combination with the knowledge of the experts” (Janssen et al, 2017, 1665). As a result, it is fundamental in the exploration of industrial heritage regeneration practices in Europe and in Thessaloniki specifically, to examine whether such a balance exists and whether this dialogue has been initiated.

2.2.3 The role of industrial heritage in identity crisis

A final consideration on the significance of industrial heritage for a city as well as its society lies in its power to shape the identity of city and at the same time be part of it. This study is interested in this perspective, because Thessaloniki is a city that suffers from an economic, social and cultural uncertainty since 2009. In the late twentieth century, there was an emergent need to preserve the memory and identity of a society by keeping its past alive through maintaining the material environment and discovering its newfound importance. This situation aroused due to the looser social networks and the even fewer places where individuals feel like their identity belongs to and, hence, to the crisis of the modern ideologies (Huyssen, 2000; Winter, 2001). The identity crisis has created a culture where social networks were becoming looser, while the sense of community has been disoriented due to the discontinuity and fluidity of people (Insoll, 2007). According to Christopher Tilley (2006), his reflection on this unstable situation is that:

> We are faced with constant change and uncertainty and we are forced to attempt to find our identity in the maelstrom of the permanent revolution of life (2006, 10).

An important factor in these changes was that the cities were governed by heritage agents, such as professionals and consultants, who were primarily concerned with the marketing of heritage instead of respecting the memory and identity of the place (Moore and Whelan, 2007). This implication, regarding Isar et al (2011, 54), has distanced people from heritage and created a distinction between "selves" and “others”. The myopic interpretation of these identities created hostility and, in turn, conflict in urban settings (Pullan and Baillie, 2013). As far as Thessaloniki is concerned, the economic crisis in 2009 further proliferated this inactive and self-centred attitude of the local community, which was converted to more passive than an active recipient of their identity.

However, in order this situation to be overcome, Viejo-Rose (2007) argued that heritage can play a catalytic role in reorienting the identity of a society. She specifically sated that:

> Heritage can become central to contemporary perceptions of identity reorientation, as an increasing number of cultural groups already articulate their struggles for rights and recognition around the ownership and representation of their cultural heritage (2007, 102).

This study follows Viejo-Rose's approach as the Greek economic crisis is part of both the spatial and the temporal struggle, where the stabilisation of the existing socio-economic changes can be derived from the society's effort to preserve the local heritage through new ways of thinking and acting (Lambrianidis, 2011). More significantly, Melina Mercouri, the ex-Minister of Culture of Greece, stated that "If we lose our cultural heritage we are nothing" (cited in Inglezou, 2017). Heritage makes us who we are, gives our community identity, and can shape our individual sense of well-being and belonging (Erll, 2011). Adding to this argument, O'Reilly et al (2017) emphasises that the continuity of a society in the present and future needs a constant re-imagining of its past through heritage. This is a process that enables a society to remember itself in the sense of "re-inscribing themselves into community membership, re-affiliating themselves with the community, renewing their allegiance and – thereby, strengthening their identity" (O'Reilly et al, 2017, 187). Therefore, a society can identify itself and cope with today's uncertain environment by deploying the resources of its heritage (Isar et al, 2011), but as James V. Wertsch and Doc M. Billinglesy (2011) and Barbara A. Misztal (2003) noted, this will be achieved through the active process of remembering. Overall, the main argument is that industrial heritage is a narration of the past and, through its reuse, new means of growth and diversification can be attributed to the society (Byrd et al, 2009; Beardslee, 2016), while a society can use to strengthen identify and cope with today's uncertain environment.

Instead of the significance of industrial heritage as part of the memory and identity of the city and its community, it is equally important to examine the industrial heritage regeneration practices along with the problems and challenges they have on both a theoretical and a practical level. It will also be understood whether the significance of the built-heritage has played an active role in preserving it and how it has been done.

2.3 Urban regeneration

This part of the chapter focuses on industrial heritage literature in terms of its urban regeneration and heritagisation, through a careful discussion of the most important scholarly work. The overall aim of this exploration is to deepen the understanding of industrial heritage recognition as a multidimensional task that includes the surrounding locality during an urban regeneration process. Under this scope, this research argues that industrial heritage reflects the traces of an industrial past that has contributed to the economic development of a country, and that it should be included within the scope of regeneration in order to provide a reminder of and a connection to the past in order to benefit the city and its public. Through urban regeneration, industrial heritage can be reintroduced into contemporary urban life, with their suitable functions and unique identities sustained. The exploration in this part of the chapter starts with the significance of developing urban regeneration projects in derelict spaces and continues with the heritage debates between the 1970s and the 1990s, along with the change of direction in the discourse. The concept of exploiting the industrial heritage has evolved in interesting way resulting in a change of attitudes, needs and expectations over the years. However, this evolution is still developing in the present days through new informed practises that promote a more collaborative attitude towards industrial heritage regeneration. There is a general shift towards the idea that heritage belongs to everyone, not only in terms of people's identity and memory attachment, but also in terms of inclusivity of different actors within a regeneration practice. Along these lines, there is also a reference on the Greek context and more precisely in Thessaloniki, since the whole focus of this study is focused on this city.

2.3.1 Urban regeneration processes for industrial heritage

Urban regeneration is an action that describes any effort or scheme addressing problems of either an already developed urban space or an economically, socially and environmentally degenerated space. Michael E. Leary and John McCarthy (2013) simplify it by considering urban regeneration projects as actions which can lead to the resolution of urban problems. In the case of former industrial sites, they have been shaped as the efforts of a site's revitalisation with new uses, such

as museums, cultural centres, housing complexes, retail spaces and so on. The new attributed uses are often dependent on the needs of the city. Therefore, there is no standard model that can be applied in urban regeneration, because the diversity and complexity of each former industrial site and the corresponding city varies. However, urban regeneration can sometimes be about restoring the building shells that erase their history and do not respect their surrounding atmosphere (Atalay, 2010). This atmosphere reflects the human skills that have been developed during the industrial processes and consist an important irreplaceable cultural resource that should be passed to the future generations (Mitzalis, 2007). Under this umbrella, this research considers the industrial past as integral to the cultural significance of these places. This leads to the main concern on the reuse of an industrial building in a “compatible” way, which is meant to encompass the historicity, architecture and the way the new uses of the building enter the city and the broader urban fabric (Pinto et al, 2017).

The urban regeneration processes for industrial heritage mainly started after the 1980s and the pursued objectives were characterised by cultural or economic benefits. In some cases, there was even a combination of both by investigating the wider social agenda of a city. This kind of urban regeneration initiatives have been denoted by turning the cultures of the cities into an imagined urban entrepreneurial future (Hubbard, 1998). According to Zukin (1998, 825) the main aim was to convert the former industrial sites from “landscapes of production” into “landscapes of consumption”. In this context, the perception of problematic spaces within urban fabrics has become a new opportunity to strengthen the post-industrial economy. Consequently, a new model of restructuring emerged, based on the marketing of the location in order for local and economic growth to arise (Hall and Hubbard, 1998). This model was even more significant for former industrial cities, such as Liverpool, Milan and Marseille, that not only used it to increase the city’s competitiveness but also to restore its image in order to generate new economic activities and create a new image. In this new restructuring, tourism and culture became the means for development, as they connected the former industrial sites into hotels and leisure facilities, homes, offices, museums, shopping and dining malls (Zukin, 1995; Trinder, 2000). This study argues that the processes of the past are *individualistic* because, firstly, the owners were mainly focused on the potential economic opportunities of the

industrial heritage place with a desire to make the maximum profit (Oevermann and Mieg, 2015), secondly, the decisions were taken from individual actors without any community's contribution and, thirdly, the attributed uses have followed a specific pattern. As Philip F. Xeil (2015) has claimed, the major negative effect in such projects is that the tangible and intangible aspects of the industrial heritage are either ignored or even eliminated (Xie, 2015).

The widespread expansion of urban regeneration processes in the second half of the 20th century to transform industrial heritage into viable spaces raised much controversy over whether there is significant destruction of the local identity. The focus of this debate is not on the transformation processes per se, but on the transformation of these sites as part of a city's heritage. Harrison (2013, 46) claims that there was a "manipulation of heritage" and commercialisation of the past as "experience". Accordingly, Loftman and Nevin (1996) interpret that the schemes of this century had prioritised the attraction of investments and consumption instead of improving the conditions for the citizen and the local economy or even evolving heritage meanings and identity-making. This debate led to the theoretical and practical exploration of these schemes by a number of authors, such as Rodney Harrison (2013), Philip F. Xie (2015), Heike Oevermann and Harald A. Mieg (2015), who explored their characteristics. This categorisation is defined around the improvement of space, new economic growth or city branding that such projects offer. More specifically, Heike Oevermann and Harald A. Mieg (2015) in their book *Industrial Heritage Sites in Transformation: Clash of Discourse* identify 3 main schemes. These are: heritage conservation, urban development and architectural production. Each one exhibits a different core value that guides the way industrial heritage is treated and restored; the first centres around reparation and minimal intervention, the second around integrated urban governance and sustainable development, while the third around site-specific and iconic architecture. The common aspect among them is that the vacant former industries are converted into new assets for the cities, but the main question is whether they can be capitalised upon and how to do so – or completely abandon any practice. Therefore, development-led activities fall under the first practice where heritage is treated as a testimony to the past, a landmark and a resource to be exploited (Healey et al, 1992). However, they recognise the upcoming dynamic of culture-led development, where industrial

heritage is seen as an asset to be developed, where the transformation of a former industrial site to one with future prospect is of increased significance. Lastly, the iconic architecture aims at highlighting the architectural value of the building itself within the specific site it resides. In some cases, it was enough to designate the new intervention as “heritage”, where the building or the place was transformed into a museum exhibit (Harrison, 2018) – such as the Tate Gallery in London. This regeneration practice is also reflected during the first effort of recording and saving the industrial culture that led to the creation of the first technical museum (Agranioti, 2003).

The urbanisation of Thessaloniki and the role of industrial heritage

Thessaloniki nowadays is as a city with high urban density that, in many areas, surpasses the threshold limits of several European cities. This dense urban environment, combined with the non-existence of green spaces, leads to a great degradation of the city’s environment and, thus, its historical traces are not properly highlighted (Zivas, 2000). However, this is an outcome of the past practices that also led to the abandonment of industrial heritage and its present state of disuse. More specifically, when the post-war urbanisation in Greek cities started in the early 1950s, the urban population radically increased. As Anogiatis et al (2013, 75) indicates, “there were 51 Greek cities with a population larger than 10.000 people, among which eleven cities numbered more than 30.000 people”, with Thessaloniki being one of them. This was mainly a result of the high number of refuges that Thessaloniki received. As expected, there was high demand for new infrastructure regarding housing and working employment. The response to this problem came with the introduction of *polykatoikia* that, according to Dragonas (2014), is a building typology originally designated by Greek architects of the modern movement referring to the social and economic upper class who could build with their own capital. This typology is the urban unit that characterises most Greek cities (Aesopos, 2012).

The negative result of this units’ popularity became apparent when a new law was adopted in order for the production of polykatoikia to be affordable to the post-war working class. Under this new law, called *antiparochi*, a person is given a product or a service in return for having been given another product or service

from a third party (Philippidis, 2012) and thus, the construction industry greatly benefited as it now had access to very cheap land in exchange for one or two of the apartments built. There was great criticism for the effects of this new law to the existing built environment. One of these criticisms is captured by Dragonas (2014, 85), who stated that antiparochi “received tax privileges and soon became the principal method of real estate transactions in Greece that drove the bottom-up development of the Greek cities under the State’s tolerance”. The effects of this new law were three, firstly, the maximum exploitation of the available land allowed and, secondly, offered a solution to the permanent lack of capital was. Thirdly, and most importantly, the existing built environment was replaced to a great extent by new urban units, with part of this environment being the former industrial places that were not yet listed.

The urban regeneration practices for Thessaloniki’s industrial heritage confirm the view of Oevermann and Mieg, (2015) who contended that the heritage awareness can span from its complete protection and regeneration until its partial demolition. Sadly, the position adopted approached the demolition end of the spectrum and, as a result, a lot of former industries were demolished in order to make space for the polykatoikia before their designation as cultural heritage came into effect. In other words, there was hardly any regeneration practice of industrial heritage until the 1980s, since the owners of the former industries found the opportunity to get rid of them and exploit the value of their land by building polykatoikies (Deffner and Labrianidis, 2005). As a result, on the one side, there was an economic growth for Thessaloniki but, on the other side, its identity was severely undermined, and part of the city’s collective memory was eliminated.

Private ownership gave rise to a specific planning practice since the 1980s, when the former industries were listed as historic buildings by the Greek state. Among the private owners are individuals and companies such as banks, business entities and non-profit organisations. It is also very common that the owners are groups of family members or a person inheriting a former industry from their relatives (Boorsma et al, 1998). According to the studies of Hastaoglou-Martinidis and Christodoulou (2010) and Katsikis and Tsagkarakis (2007), the urban revitalisation projects that took place in Thessaloniki were centred around the night life and the tourism of the city. This came in contrast with the industrial

heritage places owned by the public, whose revitalisation projects focused on the cultural aspect of the city. The privately-owned projects are summarised in Table 1, while their old and the new function is shown, and seem to have followed the same pattern. As a complete record of industrial heritage in Thessaloniki does not exist, this list is not meant to represent an exhaustive list of heritage regeneration projects in Thessaloniki, but the research has found it to be a representative sample.

Apart from these projects, the rest of the industrial heritage sites still remain vacant because, as Eleni Mentesidou (2017, 60) argued, “the owners perceive designation as a burden and, in the past, they tried to delay designation decisions”. Due to the various problems (abandonment, crime and drug places, environmental pollution) caused by the vacancy and their contribution to both physical and structural decay of the urban fabric, the study argues that there is a need to protect and regenerate them in order to preserve them for the present and future generations. The question that rises nowadays is*: how can the economic crisis inform the future of these sites and maintain the city's identity?*

Name	**Previous Activity**	**New Function**
Mamada’s Tannery	tannery	Porto Palace Hotel
Mpeni’s Tannery	tannery	Leisure venue
Charalampidi’s Tannery	tannery	Leisure venue
Ladadika area	warehouses/old market	Leisure venue, cafes, restaurants
Hatzigiannakis - Altinmalazis Mills	flourmills	Leisure venue
Fix Brewery Complex	brewing	Leisure venue & concert hall
Vilka Weaving	weaving	Leisure venue & concert hall

Table 1: Privately-owned industrial heritage regeneration projects in Thessaloniki (author’s own, 2019)

To summarise, during the last decades there were different regeneration schemes that were adopted by several cities in order to revitalise the former industrial places. However, the biggest problem perceived to have arisen was the designation of these places as part of heritage; the question that therefore occurred is whether these schemes respect the heritage meaning attached to them. This is the subject of exploration of the next sub-section, which unfolds the concept of heritagisation as a process in which “objects and places are transformed from functional things into objects of display and exhibition” (Harrison, 2013, 69). This wide spread phenomenon has also led to the initialisation of new informed processes of urban regeneration that adopt the main aim of creating a set of elements - materials, ideas, symbols, experiences - that allow a community to shape its own heritage (Vecco, 2010).

2.3.2 The heritagisation and the new informed processes

Heritage and culture are two interrelated notions with common goals as they respond to a social demand that contributes to the maintenance and development of a community’s values (López-Maldonado and Castillo-Burguete, 2013). Cultural significance, as argued in the *Burra Charter 4*, enriches the lives of people and can create a connection between a community and its landscape (Burra Charter, 1999). However, heritage has undergone several phases that resulted in the heritage boom and consequently in its *heritagisation* during the late 20th century. *Heritagisation* is a phenomenon related to the discussion of production and consumption in terms of transforming historic places into touristic attraction centres and promoting them by altering the experiences of those places during their transitions (Lowenthal, Hewison, Samuel and Urry, cited in Harvey, 2001). Part of this heritagisation process was also performed on industrial heritage places. More specifically, during the 1980s and 1990s, industrial heritage was closely associated with an experience, where places and practices have been marketed mainly for commercial gain and, as Bianchini and Parkinson (1993, 13) argued, “the language of subsidy was replaced by the language of investment”. This period of time was characterised, as described by Pine and Gilmore (2011), from the "experience economy" model. Industrial heritage sites were attributed with new uses (such as theme parks, museums), where the

locally-authenticated dimension was missing and, subsequently, heritage was deployed solely as an economic asset (Dicks, 2003). The objectives of such practices that were pursued have overestimated the capacity of the market forces and underestimated their embeddedness in local realities; thusly the wider social agenda of an area or a city was left to the side (Claval, 2007). This was further exacerbated in economically-ravaged areas, as will be seen in the next paragraph. In addition, the issue of heritagisation was rearticulated as a question of commercial exploitation and control (Gainza, 2018), while heritage was placed at a straightforward confrontation between the market and the people. As such, many authors were opposed to this kind of industrial heritage regeneration processes, as they mainly converted heritage into a profitable economy for the few. It was considered as a quick-fix solution (Smith, 2006; Lardner, 2012; Lin, 2012), because it placed heritage in a “Disnefication” process (Bryman, 2004). In such cases, as Garcia (2004, 314) states, ‘‘culture is transformed into an economic asset, a commodity with a market value and a valuable producer of marketable city space’’. Hence, the regeneration of industrial heritage ends up being elitist in nature, leading to some degree of social polarization by sponsoring high-profit sectors with few local social benefits (Tasan-Kok, 2008). Under these conditions, this study adopts the approach of Dicks (2000) and Bruner (2005), who argue that the capitalisation of heritage into new forms of cultural consumption is problematic. This stems from the fact that heritage is a representation of local life and local identities, but through its commodification there is an increasing alienation from either local communities or new forms of culture, or both.

Another outfall of heritagisation was the phenomenon of gentrification, which is defined as "the conversion of socially marginal and working-class areas of the central city to middle class use" (Zukin, 1987, 129). This phenomenon has mainly appeared in cities such as London, New York, Paris and Sydney (Smith, 2002), where several neighbourhoods went under redevelopment and ended up in “a reduction of the low-rent housing stock and displacement of hundreds of residents" (Bourne, 1993, 185). Gentrification leads to an economically weak environment, which is saturated by uses that do not involve the existing community in productive means. In this case, there is a tendency to homogenise built-heritage by dismissing existing local valuable community features through

its market orientation. But, as Rory Ridley-Duff (2007) argues, by not considering the values of a community in the regeneration practices, intangible assets are lost – in the best-case scenario, the cultural heritage is retained, but its values are lost. This is reinforced by the European Committee of the Regions (2015–2017), which stresses that promoting cultural heritage is essential for strengthening identity, democratic values, social and economic cohesion (Halme et al, 2017) as well as a person's sense of engagement, understanding and appreciation of their place. As both Ghilardi (2017) and Jaede (2017) claimed, a good place to live is a place where local distinctiveness is prized, local communities are actively engaged in making the most of their resources for the common good and differences are successfully navigated. Similarly, the urbanist Leonie Sandercock (2004) argues that cultures in cities grow through the everyday practices of social interaction, contain multiple differences within themselves and are continually re-negotiated and recognized. Therefore, these approaches lead to the new informed urban regeneration processes for industrial heritage that were adopted after the second decade of the twenty-first century from various scholars and are analysed below.

The new informed processes

In the second decade of the twenty-first century, as the condition of austerity around Europe was becoming more severe the promotion of economic growth alongside with the strengthen social ties were put in the forefront in order to support disadvantaged communities (Crisp, 2013) through development of new forms of regeneration processes (Roberts et al, 2017). According to Adriana Arista-Zerga (2017), the regeneration of the built-heritage has changed within the time being, not only in the way it is presented in international documents or conventions, but more profoundly because the concepts and the studies dealing with it focus on different aspects, such as the participation of the community. This change occurred because the relationship between cultural heritage and communities in many cases were full of conflict (Kisić, 2017). Therefore, the communities themselves showed interest in being more involved, as they realised that their participation is an important element of their identity's empowerment (Halme, 2017). Based on this change, Roberts et al (2016) approached what is urban regeneration in a different way. He claimed, in particular, that regeneration

is the outcome of the relationship between different actors of influence and their response to the problems that a specific degenerated place is suffering from. In an effort to clarify this further, it is an approach driven by a dialectical process where industrial heritage sites do not need to be converted solely into a museum-like environment. Instead, industrial heritage "harmonises with the need for a healthy socioeconomic base in the community" (Xie, 2015, 7). This ideology does not consider heritage as an isolated entity, but as a creation for and by the people that requires resources for its conservation and management (ICCROM, 2015). This kind of practice, according to Roberts et al (2016), aims to strengthen social ties, promotes social inclusion and supports new collaborative forms of activities. Therefore, industrial heritage in some contemporary cases has been viewed as an evolving environment for both the community and the state, where a process of empowerment of the broader public through its inclusion in decision-making was put in the forefront. A key for devising such schemes effectively is by understanding local perceptions and their position during implementation (Tsenkova, 2002; López-Maldonado and Castillo-Burguete, 2013). It channels the power of decisions across the local community and entails both the horizontal redistribution and the allocation of responsibilities towards all the interested groups of people (Bertotti et al, 2011). However, a potential fear is that the notion of the local community may turn to be an imaginary construct rather than an empirical reality (Carter, 2013). As such, this study is based on empirical realities extracted from the local community of Thessaloniki in order to eliminate this fear, where local networks and shared practices are analysed in order to formulate an approach capable of fostering links between major issues and those involved in them. Overall, as Roberto Falanga and Mafalda C. Nunes (2019) argue:

> the implementation of collaborative actions in urban regeneration is seen as an opportunity to gather multiple actors around common issues to be solved with higher consensus in deprived areas, as well as boost the international competitiveness of contemporary cities (2019, 576).

Through this way, the meaning of heritage is understood and interrelated with the individuals as active citizens exhibiting active participation (Thun, 2016). The stance adopted by this thesis drives the regeneration of Thessaloniki's industrial heritage to adopt multiple positions that are expressed and negotiated; and

positions that go beyond the simplified fixed dividing lines of experts and laypeople (Kisić, 2017). In its place, this study needs to recognise the multiplicity of positions, interests, knowledge, memories, capacities, desires and resources that local community brings to the discussion under an empirical exploration. But in order for these positions to be explored, Robert Shepherd (2006) contends, that some key questions need to be addressed firstly. These questions are: *which is the heritage preserved*, *by whom* and *for what purpose*? These questions are examined by this study through the analysis of the Allatini Mills and its complexity throughout the years in order to structure a system of community learning in its conclusion. In other words, the transformation of industrial heritage has a complex nature, as "it does not only represent a value in the market for land use, but also an opportunity to create and promote new [..] activities" (Xie, 2015, xi) that can revitalise a whole area or even a city. However, a factor that needs to be taken into consideration is the economic crisis, which not only has affected the cities economically but also socially and culturally. These changes can inform the future of industrial heritage regeneration as well as reveal the obstacles that need to be overcome.

2.3.3 The repercussions of the economic crisis

One of the most important aspect for many countries around the world has been their economic recession that started in 2009, leading to economic difficulties and impacting their social and cultural welfare at the same time (Hatherley, 2015). The economic crisis has indirectly led to low revenues, lack of investment and financial incentives. As Rakopoulos (2014) states, this crisis has turned into a social catastrophe with a complex and ever-changing socio-economic environment characterised by multiple challenges in all aspects of the public sphere. As it has already been revealed through the literature review so far, when economic interests in a city change then the structured environment is affected too. In a period of time when the threat of losing cultural assets becomes reality, it is necessary to act in order to end the damage and neglect towards heritage. As Bowitz and Ibenholt (2007) have argued, by investing in parts of cultural heritage, they can generate positive effects not only in terms of culture but also in the form of increased employment and income. Part of this environment is the

industrial heritage, which bears very obvious signs of the economic crisis. More specifically, the abandonment of industrial heritage is even more profound than before, because the lack of maintenance and human absence have accumulated during the time that has passed (Mentesidou, 2017). Therefore, the question that arises now is: *how can the knowledge and revelations of the economic crisis inform the future treatment of the industrial heritage?*

A hint towards the answer can be traced in the rationality that is strongly supported by François Schneider et al (2010) who argued that:

> The present economic crisis opens up a social opportunity to ask fundamental questions. Managed well, this may be the best, possibly last and only chance to change the economy and [people's] lifestyles (2010, 511).

In fact, the negative outcomes of the economic crisis have encouraged several governments to orchestrate solutions through new revitalisation ways (Gainza, 2018; Herrmann and Kritikos, 2013; Lambrianidis, 2011). One of these ways is attributed to the role of the creative initiatives, where local governments were encouraged to manage them viably (Stegmeijer et al, 2017). The newly developed situation has shifted the commercial behaviour towards seeking the quality of place, unique and niche products along with offering experiences. Reflecting this, city planners around the world have identified the creative sector as a key target for active planning to support this economic transformation (United Nations, 2013). It also led governments to embrace policies that will encourage the establishment of trendy bohemian neighbourhoods, design centres and arts/creative districts. These initiatives are mainly characterised by artisanal modes of self-employed production associated with the making of crafts or new products under the use of creativity that, according to Jakob's (2013) analysis, are related with a conscious act of resistance and search for authenticity.

However, the way in which this crisis is being implemented for the industrial heritage of Thessaloniki is not only through empty spaces but also through the economic constraints faced by heritage owners. Although buildings older than 100 years have the right to be exempt from the tax legislation, the heritage

owners cannot still afford to cover the costs of the building's maintenance or/and investment (Smith, 2011; Simiti, 2015). As a result, most of the industrial heritage buildings are currently in a dilapidating state and the call for their protection is urgent. But, as Elias Beriatos and Marilena Papageorgiou (2012) argue, the main problem is that interested parties and stakeholders appear to be indecisive or passive observers. This behaviour is anticipated based on the crisis effects, since the austerity measures adopted by the Greek government, as claimed by Theodoros Rakopoulos (2014), resulted in tax rises, pay reductions, loose labour laws and a shrinkage of social security services. In addition, the unemployment has risen within Thessaloniki and remains one of the highest in the EU. The Hellenic Statistics Authority (2014) puts the city's unemployment at 60.4% for Central Macedonia, dropping only to 48.3% in Thessaloniki for 18-29-year-olds (NSSG, 2014). At the same time, a lot of medium-sized businesses have seized their operation due to their financial deficiencies (Stegmeijer et al, 2017; Gainza, 2018) leading to a larger increase of empty spaces in the city. In addition, the construction industry has shrunk because "not only there is no demand for more built space, but it is also difficult to maintain even the existing fabric in a good condition" (Mentesidou, 2017, 51). This situation was further exacerbated by the withering of real estate through the established of the property tax legislation Act 4223/2013, which obliges property owners to pay an annual fee to the government proportionate to the property's urban zone, the use, the age, the floors and the number of facades (FEK, 2013). As Dragonas (2014) stresses:

> The antiparohi system has practically died after the imposition of value added tax in real estate transactions. Real estate has become even more unprofitable due to the new regulations of energy efficiency on the old buildings. Moreover, the imposition of property taxes and the mortgage debt accumulation has put the private property in jeopardy (2014, 95).

Within this challenging situation caused by the crisis, a new category of spaces is fostering around the cities that is formed under the creative industries sector as a new impetus (Lazaretou, 2015). More specifically, there is the birth of small-sized creative spaces formed by local people who try to fight the unemployment by applying their knowledge, skills and creativity for the creation of sellable products (Herrmann and Kritikos, 2013). This is an action that according to Michal

Augustyn (2017) should not be considered as a surprise, because people around the world are looking for the creation of alternative and small-scale solutions to overcome the current economic crisis. However, according to the study of Karachalis (2015), Thessaloniki's creative spaces run in a marginalised and isolated way around the city, since there is no adequate development policy or coordinated effort to place them under a common ground and thus involve them in urban regeneration projects. Thus, a contradictory situation on the one hand abides, where Europe has already adopted creative initiatives as a future course that helps cities to escape the crisis and come closer to a new reality, but Thessaloniki is still at an early stage of recognising them as a significant part of the city. This study adopts the creative spaces of Thessaloniki as a new impetus to the city and explores them in depth in the next chapters, as their economy can create conditions for an economic, cultural and social spring for the city. More specifically, the present study explores a crisis environment:

> not [as] a frozen concept but [as] an open field of practical struggles through which actors mobilise normative ideas, historical experiences and political expectations that may have transformative […] effects in social life (Cordero, 2016, 16).

Under this scope, in the following sub-section builds upon the creative industries as a popular focus in urban discourses and as a lever for the city's economic, social and cultural enhancement (Hutton, 2009; Jarvis et al, 2009; O'Connor and Gu, 2010; Pappalepore et al, 2014; He and Gebhardt, 2014; Gregory, 2016). Therefore, this study will try to explore and analyse them in depth in order to enrich the understanding of their contribution in today's unstable environment.

2.4 Urban transformation through creativity

This part of the chapter builds upon the available literature on creative industries and their role on urban regeneration and by extension on industrial heritage regeneration. The basic goal is to explore the interaction between the creative industries and its environment and examine how they affect the development of the city and, conversely, how the development of the city shapes the development of the creative sector. Over the last few years, a very rich

bibliography and theoretical discussion has developed on the role of creativity and its relevant terms such as creative industries, creative people, creative economy and creative cities. These new central tendencies seek to devise new hybrid organisational structures and strategic architectures in order to cope with the complex challenges that have been posed by the increasingly fluid and dynamic markets (Howells, 1993). This emerged, in part, due to the extremely intense competition among cities for the creative sector, influenced by the phenomenon of globalisation and the rise of large companies. This situation led to the formulation of new urban development policies in order to increase a city's competitiveness, as we live in a contemporary economy that is characterised by powerful marketing discourses. As cities have been entangled in the spirit of generalised commercialisation, creativity has emerged as one of the most important "tools" to show an edge. There are several city-examples where the activities of creative industries have strongly affected the development of specific urban areas, without it even being part of their central planning policy. The balance seems to have shifted from financial capital to human capital (Berry and Glaeser, 2005; Scott, 2004), and this transition into the knowledge-based economy that the creative industries promote, has helped the market noticeably. Thus, the next section of the research attempts to analyse the ways in which creative industries is associated with local economy and consequently with the development of the creativity within a city. The main question addressed in this part of literature are: *why is creative industries an important asset for a city?*

2.4.1 The creative industries as a new economic asset

Post-industrialisation and the rise of globalisation have led to the creation of a global society with a fleeting culture that is dominated by homogeneity dictated by brands and the mass media, resulting in the perception of the market as the sole source of profit and progress (Harvey, 2001; Lash and Urry, 1994; Clark, 2003; Knox, 2005; Ponzini and Rossi, 2010). A way to balance this situation was the restructuring of the cities' spirit in order to limit the importance of the market into all aspects of human life (Hewison, 2014). Due to this new need, urban policy makers were re-oriented not only at an institutional reformation, but also on a cultural change. Thus, they turned their attention to the economic role that arts and culture can play and, more specifically, on how these elements can

contribute towards a national renewal and increased individual freedom in the market. This reorientation, which mainly appeared in global cities such as London, New York and Berlin, was succeeded by an economic renewal of traditional sectors; the addition of a cultural and creative dimension within these sectors shaped a new economy called the *creative economy*. Therefore, cultural and creative industries were created in order to maximise the individual's freedom in the market and retain as much of their income as possible for their own benefit by giving the ability to individuals to exercise their own creative skills within a market that would produce the optimum conditions for creativity to flourish. Ever since, culture and creativity were exploited as a vital economic force and the creative economy as an alternative premise for the countries' development (Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Hewison, 2014; Navarro, 2016). This development is also based on the factor that a product created through a creative process is increasingly determined by its aesthetic features. These features are competitive in quality and develop new markets in countries that have trouble remaining cost-competitive (Cominelli and Greffe, 2012). The creators, according to Jelinčić and Vukić, (2015), transfer their know-how and experience to the present through their creative practice, which is a pathway to build and retain their identity.

Based on this wide exploitation of creativity, the understanding of creative industries was explored in different studies by scholars of diverse expertise such as business, economics, geography, urban studies, sociology as well as from different European regions such as the United Kingdom, Germany, Spain etc (Rico et al, 2018; Lazzeretti et al, 2008). The variation of exploration has also been reflected in the different meanings and definitions that have been formulated for creative industries over the years. As a result, there are continued discussions and disagreements over what activities should be included under the creative industries heading, as for many regions or cities there is a disaggregation even between creative and cultural industries and on what is what (Bakhshi and Cunningham, 2016; McRobbie, 2015). This debate mainly stems from the UK's initial definition of creative industries as a synonym for cultural and arts-related activities (Potts and Cunningham, 2008). The initial definition was given by the *Task Force Mapping Document of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport* (DCMS) that defined creative industries as:

> those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have the potential for wealth and job creation through generation and exploitation of intellectual property (2001, 4).

According to the DCMS, the creative activities are classified into the following industrial sectors: Advertising, Architecture, Arts and Antique Markets, Crafts, Design, Designer Fashion, Film, Interactive Leisure Software, Music, Television and Radio, Performing Arts, Publishing and Software. This cultural model of the creative industries proved to be globally influential but, at the same time, debateable during the subsequent years (Lazaretou, 2015). A number of authors have argued that both the UK's definition and the classification were interpreted as a promotion of the country's new governmental needs (Pratt, 2005; Graham, 2005; O'Connor, 2007). This seems to be the case even today, as academics from different regions seem to argue on the need for a different definition for the cultural and/or creative industries depending on their location, findings and experiences (Caves, 2000; Towse, 2003; DCMS, 2001; KEA, 2006). More precisely, the debate seems to revolve around the concepts of marketability and magnitude of creativity.

On the one side, the approaches are heavily market-oriented as they put the protection and consumption of intellectual property in various forms forward, prioritising market-needs over the strength of personal creativity. Within this domain, one can find definitions like the ones proposed by Caves (2000), Lazaretou (2015), Howkins (2002) and Söndermann et al (2009). In order to offer an understanding of definitions like these, Richard Caves (2000, 1) defined creative industries as "the economic and contractual dynamics that link the established arts with the media and, as a result, they act as an indication of things to come in the market" whereas John Howkins (2002) based his definition on four factors – copyright, patent, trademark and design industries – which together constitute the creative industries and the creative economy.

On the opposing side, the second domain of definitions argue that the magnitude of creativity or culture within the everyday operations is the distinguishing factor that lands a business within the creative industries domain or not. It includes definitions like the ones proposed by the European Commission (2011, 172),

Barrère (2013, 169), David Throsby (2008, 30) and KEA (2006). As a representative selection in this case, *Article 2* of the proposal for the framework program called *Creative Europe* uses the term *sector* instead of *industries* and defines them as:

> all sectors whose activities are based on cultural values and/or artistic and other creative expressions, whether those activities are market- or non-market-oriented, whatever the type of structure that carries them out… (European Commission, 2011, 172).

While David Throsby (2008) and KEA (2006) formulate a more visual approach by introducing the concept of concentric circles, where the more the creative and artistic expression is profound on the product, the closer to the core of creative industries a business is (Figure 5).

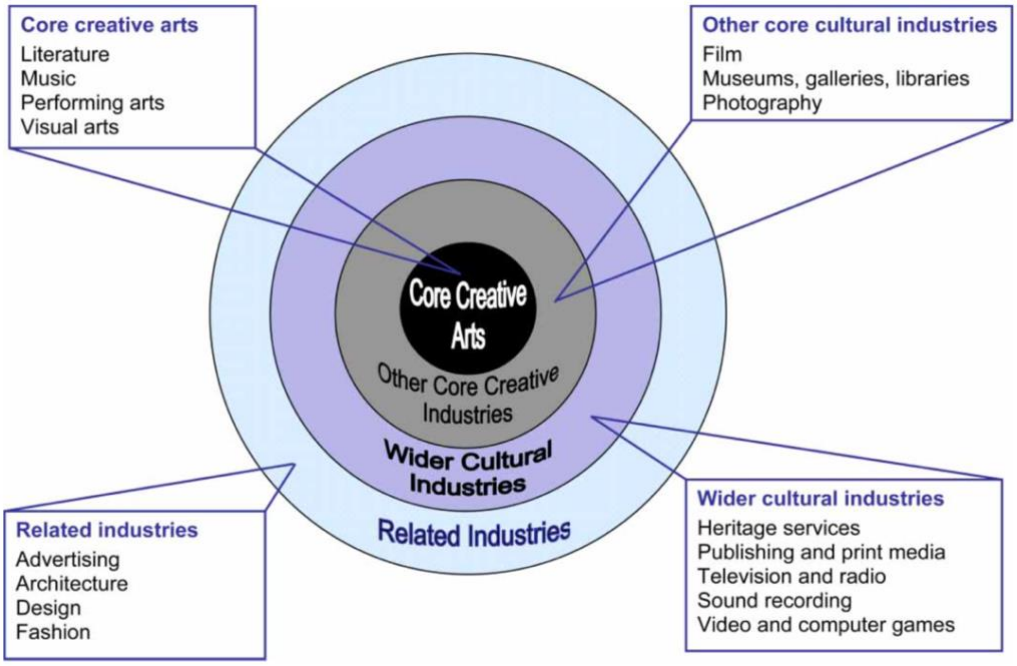


Figure 5: Concentric circles (Throsby, 2008, 30)

The present research understands the merits of both sides, it however supports that the definition of the creative sector is highly dependent on the eye of the beholder – namely, the nation or the region that needs to promote and regulate them. As such this study argues that an approach similar to the one adopted by the UK would not equally well fit the bill of Greece or even more precisely of

Thessaloniki – either for political reasons, whence the budget is allocated differently or is non-existent, or due to the composition of the industries active within its domain. Therefore, the confront of this study is placed on defining and then identifying the local creative sector for Thessaloniki by exploring the nature, strengths and weaknesses of the city's creative workers and creative production as well as the ways they operate and are developed. But, what is really happening in Greece and specifically in Thessaloniki in terms of creative industries?

The appearance of the creative industries in Greece

Greece has only recently discovered the potential of the creative economy, especially after the multitude of studies and reports at European level demonstrated the importance of the sector for the development of a city. This importance has been upgraded during the last ten years, since the economic base of many cities shifted from manufacturing to knowledge-based industries, resulting in the establishment of the creative economy (Evans, 2009; He and Gebhardt, 2014). Greece followed this path from the time other European countries have begun to adopt and design policies to strengthen their creative industries. However, as it is discussed in the previous sub-section, what each nation or city considers as well as defines the creative industries and thusly, creative economy, is a highly-contested debate. Greece has been a victim of this attitude since the first, and only until now, statistical report in 2016 produced by *Regional Development Institute of Panteion University* (2016) in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture and Sports, mapped the country's creative industries based on the narrowing lend of the UK's definition. According to this study, this report tends to overlook the history, socio-economic conditions and local needs of the country or city in question. The only variation presented was the introduction of new sectors within the classification that were not considered in the Greek statistical studies prior (Avdikos, 2014). Therefore, this study argues that is exacerbated when comparing wealthy Northern European countries to the economic austerity conditions that the European South has been subjected to – and Greece in particular. Consequently, the creative industries as they have been framed so far in Greece, promote a model based on the global urban north, which is not suitable to follow (Oakley et al, 2017; Oakley and Ward, 2018).This argument is also strengthened by the observation of Gyourko et al (2006) and

Florida (2017) who claim that the creative industries within “superstar” cities like New York, London or Berlin are mostly developed through the support of funded projects, organisations or new enterprises – a situation most unlike to Greece and more specific to Thessaloniki.

Although the misconception of the definition followed in the report, in the same source it has presented that in Greece there are 110,688 employees in the creative sector, who produce 2.1 billion euros corresponding to 1.4% of the country’s overall GDP (Avdikos, 2018). This proves that creative industries in Greece is at an early rising stage. But the problem is that these statistical results have some limitations in order for this study to draw a complete picture of Thessaloniki. These limitations are defined by the market segments, effectively meaning that they group together all the settings or conditions in which creativity is exercised in the country (Breitbart, 2013; Campbell, 2014; Tremblay, 2011). According to Hanquinet (2017) the effect and impact of the creative industries to a country are highly dependent on the side that someone is observing them. Regarding the statistical reports in general, on the one hand, they give a positive overview for policy makers and the general economic-political side, since they confirm the power of the creative economy towards developing cities around Europe (ESPON, 2006; UNCTAD, 2010; URBACT, 2010; KEA, 2015). But, on the other hand, the particular grouping fails to see the perspective of the creative assets that are coming from unexpected places, which is the kind of creativity that cannot be measured by numbers (Bell and Jayne, 2006; Banks, 2017). This study argues that Thessaloniki’s creative spaces are positioned under this case, because according to Karachali’s (2015) study, they are not yet directly linked to the cultural context or to the creative economy of the city. The creative practices in Thessaloniki’s, according to Handpeak (2017), are strongly rooted in this territory and associated with both the traditional and modern activity of the local community and its history. Thessaloniki has a history with creativity and more precisely with craftsmanship, as it constituted part of an established sector for decades that diminished over the years as the majority of the craftsmen seized their operation. For this study, this is a favourable venture for the city, as the economic crisis turned a lot of people towards tradition who now contribute in sustaining the city’s past identity and convert into in a modern version. Thus, a lot of small-sized creative spaces that are functioning around the city centre of

Thessaloniki remain still unexplored, with people individually or collectively envisioning their future through creativity (Karachalis, 2015). This observation correlates with the stance claimed by Haans and van Witteloostuijn (2018) that creative industries should to be a reward and socially-engaging practice populated by very small firms and self-employed individuals that are not represented by a country's statistical report, but they need to be examined independently. Therefore, this study is looking at the activities that have the production, supply and trading of symbolism and meaning as well as the creation of contributions and experiences in their core (Karachalis, 2015; Rutten, 2014).

Looking more deeply, the lack of familiarity with Thessaloniki's creative spaces, according to Kostopoulou and Kalogirou (2011) and Ampatzidou (2017), stems from the fact that the local community is more familiar with highly publicised activities – that are market-oriented and receive financial support, ignoring the slew of creative activities that emerged during the economic crisis. Along these lines, this study argues that the existence of self-employed creators cannot be ignored, although their economic contribution to the city may be indirect and small but it still exists and is valuable (Paris and Leroy, 2014). As Nick Wilson (2010, 368) asserted to “the creativity of the marginalised is as valuable (if not more so) as that of those who visibly work in the creative industries” and because of that there is a need to re-think the role and nature of creativity and sustain them as a primary input. As such, this study tries to identify the creative workers who are under-represented in official data collections (Throsby, 2008), namely the ones whose work is sporadic, as it is equally useful to understand the characteristics of their work and its conditions. Cho Rico et al (2018) respectively claim that a proper way to recognize individuals’ creative contribution is to subtly conduct a regional study and field investigation, instead of just looking at an index or a set of numbers. Regional research has the power to highlight the micro and fragmentary works that are part of invisible economic contributions (Rico et al, 2018). Similarly, Mario Polèse (2012) concludes that understanding whether creators have high or low relationship to regional development and economic growth can be formed by conducting regional surveys and face-to-face interviews. This example is followed by the present study and actions are taken during the fieldwork through a regional research.

Based on the above-mentioned review, one of the main contributions to knowledge of this research is to, firstly, create a definition that will reflect the existing socio-economic condition of Thessaloniki and its creative setting since it perceives a misconception to follow a definition of another country. Secondly, another contribution is the expansion of the limited literature on Thessaloniki's creative industries by giving another perspective on what can be considered as part of them. As such, defining and analysing the marginalised local creative sector of Thessaloniki can raise awareness and consequently make them more visible and recognisable. Therefore, this study will rely on the exploration of Thessaloniki's creative economy significance which does not act in a great scale, but instead in a local and marginalised in order to shed some light on these efforts and help them foster in Thessaloniki.

2.4.2 The role of creative industries in urban regeneration

The contribution of the creative industries to the economic development and the competitiveness of towns and cities, according to Allen J. Scott (2004, 482), has led to "a substantial share of income and employment in a wide range of countries". The export of the creative industries in other countries has developed a lexicon around their cultivation and the ways that they can transform the cities in order to attract new businesses, consumers and creative people or, as Richard Florida (2002) named it, a *creative class* (Breitbart, 2013; Hewison, 2014; Navarro, 2016). Large cities and their city-regions are seen as the main engines behind the new economic growth of creative industries. As a consequence, cities and city-regions have started to market themselves as vibrant centres of creativity and knowledge and have taken actions to strengthen that profile (Lange et al, 2008; Yigitcanlar et al, 2008; Vanolo, 2008). A main contributor to this new urban regeneration profile is the notion of the creative city and, due to this profile, cities have now transformed in the main promoters of this trend. In this context, new theories are formulated by focusing on the "creative city" phenomenon using the fundamental approach of Charles Landry. From 1995, he talks about the 21st century industry and supports that it will turn into a production of knowledge based on creativity and innovation. Later, in his 2000 book titled *The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators,* he explores the features that a city needs to have in order to be characterised as creative in depth. After this publication, the

creative city model acquired more supporters. Tim Hall (2005), in his book *Urban Geography*, presented five models of sustainable development for the cities of the future including the creative city within. According to Hall (2005), the creative city supports the interests of its urban and economic viability in the creative economy. This means a cycle of creating, producing and distributing tangible (material) products with a creative content of material and cultural value with the aim of purchasing them (UNCTAD, 2008). The creative city recognises, supports, attracts and maintains talent and creativity within a city.

The built environment, which is the field of action of creativity, is crucial in establishing the appropriate creative milieu, an environment that provides the necessary (hard and soft) infrastructure to ensure the flow of knowledge and ideas. Part of this built environment is the large open former industrial spaces within a city, where its exploitation from creative/artistic people is not something new as a practice. The rise of such spaces was first explored by Sharon Zukin (1988) in her book *Loft Living*, where a group of New York artists adopt and transform former industries into alternative spaces during the 1980s (Gibson, 1996). This particular author discovered an interesting relationship on how the artists used these spaces both for their work and for living, where eventually the spaces functioned as makers of their identity. She also indicated that the artists were motivated and inspired by the building's historical aesthetic qualities and its urban context, with the building acting as a visually stimulating and inspirational space.

In a similar way, this connection between historic industrial buildings and the creative or/and artistic community has become important foci for re-development today (Champion, 2010; Heebels, 2010; Pappalepore et al, 2014), since these spaces are viewed as areas of economic potential and opportunity (Garcia, 2004; Evans, 2009; He and Gebhardt, 2014). There are different terms that have been attributed to these new developed spaces such as *cultural hubs* or *creative clusters*; spaces that exhibit the concentration of knowledge-based activities as a key feature and result in the revival of an urban image (Miles, 2013; Campbell et al, 2017). The presence of creative communities is well known in cities such as Berlin (Colomb, 2012), Amsterdam (Groth and Corijn, 2005) and Barcelona (Martí-Costa and Pradel I Miquel, 2012), where the new economy meets

regeneration at the level of former industrial sites. This way, the importance of industrial heritage regeneration through the exploitation of creative economy emerges (Gnedovsky and Dümcke, 2013). For Liebmann and Kuder (2012), creativity and the regeneration of historic sites are important strategic factors that can give an opportunity to de-industrialised cities to be developed as well as gain a competitive advantage over other cities. Similarly, Xabier Gainza (2018) contends that these spaces are attractive to creators because they reflect particular physical, socio-economic and symbolic attributes of the area resulting in the formation of concrete and representational characteristics – but as Nancy Duxbury and Catherine Murray (2010) argue, these new creative spaces are not only operating under the current reality but also hold future possibilities. These spaces encourage the idea of co-creating and proximity of the creative sort, where individuals can interact within this space and, consequently, the space to act as a cultural amplifier by expanding certain cultural practices (Bruner, 1996; Scott, 2000). The benefits of clustering creative individuals within an industrial heritage are not only about their engagement with others so as to share understandings or ideas, but also about creating them. This power comes from the ability to collaborate, build interpersonal relationships and develop relationships (Alford, 2018). In the context of Thessaloniki, there has not been any industrial heritage regeneration project that has used the creative forces of the city for the benefit of the heritage and the local community. This novelty of – and lack of information on – industrial heritage regeneration using the local creative industries acts as a driver for this study to explore the possibility of exploiting them as a new use for the Allatini Mills.

However, the instrumental use of creative industries for the regeneration of former industrial areas can have both positive and negative connotations in socio-spatial terms. On the one side, such interventions have the power to achieve economic makeovers for an area, attract tourists as well as develop the competitive position of a city in its region as viewed by the local authorities and private actors – or even by a partnership of these two (Miles, 2013). But, on the other side, these interventions in some cases come in direct contrast with the neighbourhood's aspirations, which end up negative and excluded. This kind of projects have the fear to result in the creation of a gentrified community, a market-oriented creativity and a failure to address the actual deficiencies of the space in

question (Zarlenga et al, 2016; Cameron and Coaffee, 2005). Mainly, this downside stems from the bulk interest of the actors on the marketability of creativity (Avdikos and Kalogeresis, 2018; Wilson, 2010), since they usually require financial incentives to undertake a project of cultural heritage (Karaiskou, 2017). In addition, as Myrna M. Breitbart (2013, 2), who examined creative-led urban regeneration projects contends, “abandoned industrial heritage sites have been perceived as a suitable ground to be used and converted into a consumer landscape of visual appeal”. Similarly, in Annet J. Smit’s (2011) research, the users of three different creative heritage districts – the Eastern Docklands in Amsterdam, the Lloyd Quarter in Rotterdam, and the Hortus Quarter in Groningen – valued the regeneration negatively, when it led to excessive tidiness, cultural theming, and commodification. The study argues that the urban regeneration of built-heritage sites through the use of creative industries becomes dangerous when the economic incentives prevail and consequently the needs of creative workers are deferred. Therefore, the bigger risk that exists in creative cluster projects is for the notion of consumption to be stronger than the creativity per se, resulting in a commercialised, profit-driven and property-oriented regeneration project. Nevertheless, a general conclusion cannot be drawn, as there is no one-size-fits-all scenario in such interventions. The socio-economic and real estate market conditions, the local planning context and the community ties differ from place to place and, as a result, influence their trajectory differently (Gainza, 2018). Thus, the role of the creative industries in urban regeneration is either based on the prospect of attracting new creative enterprises or on the development of opportunities through the city’s creative assets and property changes within the city (Breitbart, 2013).

Another discussion point on creative industries and their role in urban regeneration is on measuring the creative workers’ contribution to a city. Various past studies used the conceptual and empirical underpinnings of Richard Florida’s theory as indicators to highlight the contribution of the creative workers by placing too much emphasis on quantitative data (Bell and Jayne, 2006). More significantly, Betsy Donald et al (2013, 6) stated that “hundreds of policy reports were produced promoting Florida-inspired, creativity-led economic development strategies”. What Richard Florida (2002) has done, is to group the creative workers and to create the notion of *creative class*, which is based on the idea that

the number of people engaged in creative occupations are attracted to places because of their creative atmosphere and lifestyle. He suggested precisely that companies can be more attractive and innovative by employing creative people as well as increasing occupations that involve creative work. Under his approach, the creative class can be measured under the three criteria of technology, talent and social tolerance; the three T's (UNCTAD, 2010). But the problem, as Scott (2014) contends, is that socially embedded creativity implies much more than the activities of gifted individuals or members of the creative class. A lot of authors, such as Peck (2005), Evans (2009) and Borén and Young (2017) argue that it is time for the cities around the world to move beyond Florida's perception which reflects a fast quick-fix solution. Similarly, Frederick H. Pitts (2015) argues that the measurability of creative work by comparing numbers results in a tendency towards specialisation, standardisation, rationalisation and eliminates the uniqueness of the creative process and its outcome. Therefore, because of this tendency cities fail to see, firstly, the creative workers who do not work for large enterprises and their creative assets (Breitbart, 2013). Secondly, the cities are unable to achieve a detailed understanding of the features of the creative work as well as of the workers' conditions in the creative industries (Hennekam and Bennett, 2016). These two facts are also verified in the previous sub-sections, alongside the measurability of the creative industries, where valuable information is excluded through the statistical records. As Cunningham and Potts (2008) have claimed, the creative workers do not contribute only in the process of economic growth and development of a city, but most importantly contribute to the culture and society of a city. This view supports the purpose of this study, in which creative workers play an important role in preserving culture; this role will be explored through qualitative methods instead of quantitative ones.

Through the above review, it appears that the role of creative industries in urban regeneration is characterised by the spatial concentration of creative workers in a specific location and the formation of new urban identities, interaction and exchange for both the city and its recognition (Sepe, 2017). This is obvious as most cities turn to creativity when they have trouble locating one or more elements in which they will build their building brick to achieve their international visibility and the generator of economic regeneration (Jelinčić and Vukić, 2015). What is understandable above all, is that a systemic approach to the

interrelationship among economic benefits, social inclusion, planning, innovation and creative industries is not encouraged under a system where new public management structures tend to see everyone operating within their own compartments. Instead, the elements that make a cohesive atmosphere and perpetuate creativity are the recognition of local values, the utilisation of local knowledge and expertise and the attribution of a sense of ownership to the creators of the area (Borén and Young, 2017). But in order to illustrate the complexity of the matter, this study departs from the theoretical exploration and offers examples of specific regeneration projects that embeds creative industries as an attributed use.

2.4.3 (Un)Successful examples of industrial heritage regeneration using creative industries

The combination of the history of a place, and in particular its historic urban fabric, with the expansion of creativity can contribute to the continuity between the old and the new identity of a city (Pendlebury, 2013). According to the urbanist Marichela Sepe (2009), some of the most important elements for the success of such regenerative projects are the strong involvement of the creative identity, the revitalisation of the sense of place, history and the local community's belonging. In the context of this research and its city case-study, there has not been neither an issue of political consideration nor a planning priority to transform a former industry through creative activities. Although, based on Aspa Gospodini and Elias Beriatos (2006), most of the Greek cities are making efforts to improve their position in the urban hierarchies through industrial heritage exploitation. But, as Alexandra Vladou (2011) suggests, in Greece there is a demand for new structures suitable to meet the creative workers' needs and to transform them into something that would generate benefits for the local community and the city. Therefore, the examples that are analysed below will lay as a foundation for this study to understand whether the possible use of Thessaloniki's creative industries for the future regeneration of the Allatini Mills may be sustainable.

To start with, in Annet J. Smit's (2011) research on three different creative districts which were - the Eastern Docklands in Amsterdam, the Lloyd Quarter in

Rotterdam, and the Hortus Quarter in Groningen - the interviewees utilised phrases such as “a sense of history” or the “district’s visual character” in response to the question of what factors attracted them to former industrial buildings (Smit, 2011, 178). These sentiments were also reflected in Graham Drake’s (2003) research for Sheffield’s Creative Quarter. She found that there was a particular connection between “locality as a resource of visual raw materials and stimuli” and the significance of “locality as a brand, based on reputation and tradition which almost operated as a pressure for the creators to keep the reputation of the place alive” (Drake, 2003, 519). A key benefit of this spatial concentration and agglomeration of creative workers is their opportunity of knowledge exchange, both through market and non-market relations (Boschma, 2005; Kong, 2010). As André Torre (2008) argues, the proximity of creative actors is crucial for the mobilisation of knowledge that may result in the production of new products and services. This proximity benefits the creators as it gives them an opportunity to enhance collaboration relationships (Gainza, 2018). Andy C. Pratt (2000) is also a supporter of these approaches by emphasising on the importance of face-to-face communication and formal or informal interactions in creative activities. While, physical interaction between the creators is considered as a source of learning, innovation, contracting, and employment.

Moving on, the study focuses more on the performance of two different cases which are the *NDSM Wharf* in Amsterdam and the other one is the *LX Factory* in Lisbon. The *NDSM Wharf* emerged after the pioneering intervention of a local community of artists, craftsmen, skaters and non-profit organisations who wanted to experience the regeneration of the oldest wharf in the region under their own terms. More specifically, everything started when the local municipality of Amsterdam decided to redevelop the docklands in the second half of the nineties and, as a result, local real estate developers expressed interest in turning the wharf’s warehouses into apartments, offices, leisure and retail spaces (Kong and O’ Connor, 2009). Opposing the developers’ approach was the above-mentioned community, which was already using the specific area and presented an alternative plan that contained the initial proposal. In particular, they presented a framework within which the individual creative workers could invest in building their own spaces and, thus, to act as co-investors. This framework gained the attention of the developers and, with the financial help of the local government

and cultural producers, a vibrant and lively space emerged that was praised for its bottom-up development, its creativity and its “authenticity” (Zimmermann, 2014). As Jonathan Metzger (2011, 217) argues, these spaces act as a “cooler” creative space because creators are actively involved in the decision-making process by enabling the use of their creative spirit. The concept of a “cool” space relies on the engagement of different positions and views both from place planners and from stakeholders, in order not to place creators in an oppositional role but to foster a cooperative relation that is mostly lacking from similar regeneration projects (Borén and Young, 2017).

Moving to the next example, the *LX Factory (LXF)* in Lisbon is an example of a different type of approach, as the planning proposal relied solely on the developer’s decision. Historically speaking, the LX Factory was operating as a privately-owned company for threads and fabrics under the name *Companhia de Fiação e Tecidos Lisbonense*, established in 1846 and served the broader area of Alcântara (Xie, 2015). This industrial complex covers 23000 sqm and it was one of the most important manufacturing complexes in Lisbon’s history. Due to the decline of the cloth manufacturing, however, the complex ended up abandoned during the 1990s and it remained in this state until 2007. This year, the *MainSide* property company bought the industrial complex since the Lisbon City Council could not decide on how to renovate the broader area. The MainSide was the actor that decided to transform the LX Factory into a new urban creative fragment for the city (Vidal, 2014). As such, the abandoned place turned into a creative island where different creative spaces established their activities. The interesting part of this example does not only lay on the attributed use, but, also, on the management of the place. In particular, MainSide started this project by making minimal refurbishment and renovation activities along with renting the space at a rate of 6 to 12 euros per square meter. This initiative had the result of attracting over eighty small enterprises including fashion, advertising, communications, multimedia, art, design, architecture, music, photography, dance schools and several cafés (Xie, 2015), thereby creating a place that addresses a different set of events and creative activities. The dynamic of this space has the effect of attracting numerous visitors that (re)discover the area of Alcântara. According to Gravereau (2012), the tangible elements of the LXF are retained as much as possible, so that the memory of the past infuses with today’s

activities. This planning practice, as Xie (2015, 185) argues, is perceived as an "anti-restorationist approach that highly stresses authenticity and sustainability, functions as a guiding principle and is clearly reflected in the LX Factory". Based on the same author, in LXF someone can actually perceive the industrial environment at every step; this makes it a factory of experiences where intervention, thought and production are taking place. The main characteristics that differentiate the LXF from other similar regeneration projects is that, firstly, it is a space for ideas and products that belongs to everyone and is for everyone. Secondly, it is an example where, with low levels of investment and taking advantage of the industrial environment, a creative space can be created using creativity itself.

The first example reveals that the regeneration of industrial heritage through the use of creative industries needs to keep a distance from the concept of regeneration as a commodity and a financial tool (Banks, 2017). This stems from the fact that the specific regeneration practice emerged from a complex network of formal and informal interactions that heavily influenced it (Comunian, 2011; Lange, 2011). The project in this example turned its focus towards a more grounded and constructive approach, where new modes of governance were followed and contributed to the society's common good (Metzger, 2011; Ron, 2016). The latter is a conclusion that can also be derived from the second example, since the approach adopted by the MainSide stakeholder was equally grounded, contributing to its private benefit but also to the creative common good. These benefits were achieved in two steps; firstly, MainSide realised that the main appeal of the LXF lay in its factory aesthetics, necessitating only minimum interventions, and secondly, the allure of the factory setting attracted the creative people and acted as a source of inspiration. Although this example followed an individualistic approach, it proved to be beneficial for the city and the creators because it did not neglect or disregard the tangible and intangible identity of the place. This project succeeded in producing a new identity for the industrial heritage site, where "space merges heritage with a significant collection of creative entities" (Xie, 2015, 191). In this case, the industrial heritage comes into an agreement with the "becoming-rent of profit" (Harvey, 2002, 96), but at a grounded level. Therefore, the debate of such projects should be oriented on how creativity may best contribute to the well-being of cities and their inhabitants,

without simply becoming a top-down planning exercise (Zarlenga et al, 2016), but through building an ongoing interaction between the creative workers and investors or/and heritage owners (Gibson and Klocker, 2005). In an environment under crisis like Thessaloniki, as Simiti (2015) and Theodossiou et al (2019) assert, the need to emphasise on the development of society's solidarity and the local community's active engagement is increasingly important, now more than ever.

Overall, the industrial heritage regeneration through the use of creative industries is a multifaceted entity that has different meanings for different communities in different locations and, thus, different planning approaches are adopted. As such, there is no generic way that they can be implemented everywhere, but the involved actors should rather take a carefully tailored approach that analyses the site or the area in a holistic manner and includes its community, its creators, the nature of the environment and the local and regional economy (Jelinčić and Vukić, 2015). Thus, according to Mergos and Patsavos (2017), the challenge for Thessaloniki nowadays relies on the shift of the current static heritage regeneration usage to a dynamic one through creative practices. Under these viewpoints, this study argues that Thessaloniki's industrial heritage can act as a juxtaposition to local society's homogenisation by providing a foundational link back to the history and heritage of a place and by reinforcing the new developed creative character and identity of the city.

2.5 Conclusions – The three key communities

Throughout this chapter three themes have been developed – memory, heritage and creativity – as means of thinking not only the present, but also the future and the leading role they hold in contemporary societies. Under this dialectic, the role of both the industrial heritage and the creative industries on urban regeneration is perceived as a process in which a different notion of urbanity is introduced for the safeguarding of the built-heritage. The layers in which urban regeneration overlaps and interacts with heritage are different for each city – especially in cases of heritagisation, which is a one-sided political or ideological narrative creation that results in none being incorporated, influenced or attached to the

needs of a community regeneration scheme. As such, heritagisation is a process which is understood in the light of specific localised cultural contexts. Under this light, the study acknowledges that each city has its own historical, economic and social context and the formation of a one-size fits all solution is excluded, but instead an empirical investigation to draw on particular narratives is included. By doing so, we can begin to understand how the narratives of the past are constructed in Thessaloniki and how they might feed into the development of new urban regeneration projects. Accordingly, this chapter reveals that it does not appear unreasonable to put faith in the potential to act creatively, especially in times of difficulty, and to turn to those working in the creative industries specially to pull the cities out of the current global recession (Wilson, 2010). The realisation of this potential is an important task for the future of industrial heritage sites that leads to the clustering of the creative workers within these spaces, with both upsides and downsides. This task applies predominantly to the development of sustainable and liveable cities, a challenge that increases with ongoing urbanisation.

As is evident throughout the literature, the exploitation of industrial heritage has become a marketing tool for the promotion of a certain image and memory, which in some cases leads to the exclusion of alternative narratives and ends up with elitist features. Standing on the other side, there are new informed regeneration schemes that are based on participation and aim to bring benefits to local people through a shared sense of belonging and, consequently, to promote heritage as a meaningful asset of the society. Consequently, as the urban planner Graham Haughton (2009) claims, the crucial questions to be addressed in order to reduce marketability and increase community engagement are: for whom, for whose tastes and for whose profit is an urban regeneration project materialised. Under Haughton's rationality, this study attempts to answer these questions in the light of three communities that are drawn up around the Allatini Mills. The choice of this limitation also finds support through the words of Paul Selman (2007, 367) who states that "given the diversity of legal, governmental, social, economic and tenurial contexts in which landscape management occurs, it is important for a research project to set limits". Thus, the limits of this research have been formed around the three communities, since 'community' is a multi-faced term and it can refer to different groups of people with different levels of influence in urban

regeneration. These communities are the *community of place,* the *community of action* and the *community of interest.* The first community consists of the people who live around the Allatini Mills, the second community are the people who act under regeneration practice and have direct control over the Allatini Mills and the last community comprises of the people who share the same creative interests. The concept of the formulation of these communities is also inspired by the literature of communitarianism, without any intention to use this theory further – and by their approach on the importance of the community within a society. Communitarianism supports that a community are the members of a society that have significantly different interests, needs and values, but share the same goals and bonds in order to achieve the best possible results (Sriramesh and Verčič, 2003). The multi-faced character of communities, according to Berger et al (2020), is also based on the conceptual differences within language groups, like for example German that makes a distinction between community and society (Gemeinschaft vs Gesellschaft; Tönnies, 1887) or for French and the concept of citizenship (Elias, 1973). Nevertheless, this study does not consider the division of Berger, as there is no such interpretation in the Greek language, but, on the contrary, perceives the regeneration of the Allatini Mills as a social construction, where more than one person is connected to this site (Etzioni, 2014). By engaging these three different communities, it locates the centre of the Allatini Mills that this study explores in order to answer the main research question (Diagram 2). However, finding a common ground among these three communities is not easy, as it depends mainly on the existing challenges, and whether they are able to coexist on an equal basis and share their values for achieving a common goal. This goal is the regeneration of the Allatini Mills as a catalyst for urban regeneration in Thessaloniki. To this end, the next chapters explore and analyse these challenges in order to understand whether such a common ground can exist or not.

Diagram 2: The three different communities of the study (author's own, 2019)

Overall, the literature employed in this chapter helps the study examine the three different communities in the following chapters, in an effort to understand their opinions, beliefs and connection. As such, there is an interpretation of these communities through the urban fabric of Thessaloniki as affected by the economic crisis and through new ways of approaching both its economic and social character. The examination of these three communities create at least three points of reference for this study: the original meaning, the new meaning and the composite of both, resulting in the creation of a new whole in the present that fulfils a knowledge gap. This gap dictates the investigation – for the first time – the community drivers for participation, collaboration, social shaping of values and interrelationships in order to move towards a more inclusive planning process for the Allatini Mills.

The next chapter presents the methodological framework and the general philosophical approach adopted, along with the methods used to fill this gap. It also reveals the ways the aforementioned communities were approached in order to collect the data and proceed with their analysis.

Chapter 3. The research methodology

3.1 Philosophical approach

This chapter starts with the general philosophical approach adopted by the researcher and continues with the methodological framework through outlining the research design and the reasons behind its selection. It also presents the methods employed for the collection of data accompanied by the reasons behind their selection, analysis and limitations. The data collection stages are presented in two phases. The first stage is the pilot study and the second one is the main fieldwork, where one complements the other through a well-designed reflection and preparation. After the two stages, the ethical implications of this study are presented, and the data analysis procedure that helped this study to gather and shape the nature of its findings is discussed.

Before moving to the methodological approach of this study, it is important to outline the research design as well as summarise the topics under exploration. In particular, this study has been narrowed into three *topics of inquiry* that have been shaped in relation to the research aim (Chapter 1) and the literature review (Chapter 2). The first topic refers to the historicity, memory and identity of industrial heritage, the second topic is about the urban regeneration of industrial heritage and the last one is about the possible use of the creative industries for the regeneration. Within the pilot study and main fieldwork, these three topics are explored, providing insights in the context of the Allatini Mills and Thessaloniki in general. The pilot study was originally designed due to the lack of centralised sources for all three topics of inquiry. The two stages were complementary to each other since the data that emerged from the pilot study data allowed for an informed selection of the types of sources, participants and the types of questions asked during the fieldwork stage. In addition, the three different communities under exploration – community of place, community of action and community of interest – were approached during the fieldwork study, with direct contact with the participants taking place. In-between these stages, there were changes and reflections in order to better prepare for the next stage, based on the information revealed through the pilot study. These actions, presented in Diagram 3, allowed this study to set-up a more well-designed and focused fieldwork in order to

proceed with the analysis, writing-up stage and head towards the identification of the challenges in using an industrial heritage site as a catalyst for urban regeneration.

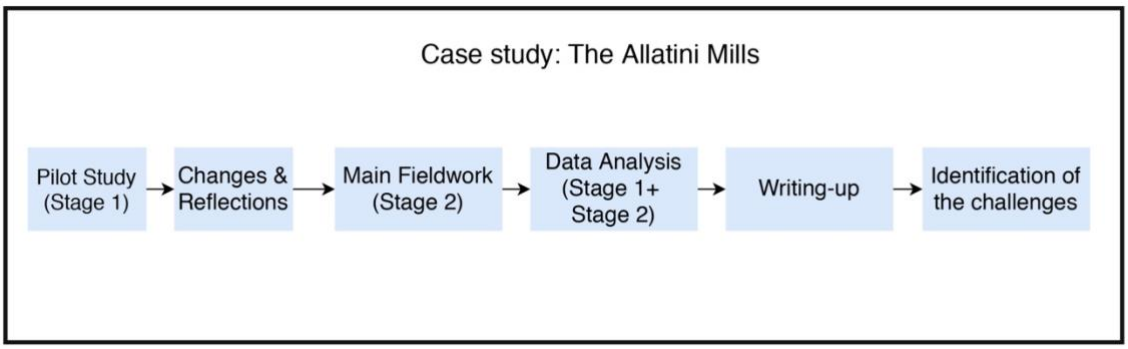


Diagram 3: The research design of this study (author's own, 2019)

Moving on, the identification of the philosophical research approach has been developed with the use of the "research onion" by Saunders et al (2007) that illustrates the stages to be covered when developing a research strategy (Diagram 4). Each layer of the research onion has the ability to be adaptable to any variety of contexts described and consists of a more detailed stage for the research process as well being a useful tool for an effective progression through which a research methodology develops (Bryman, 2012). The Onion is studied from the outermost layer – the Philosophies – to the innermost layer – the Techniques and Procedures, with the latter one explored in the next sub-section. All the layers in between are related to each other and are followed in the same sequence in order for this study to gain the required output.

Starting with the first layer of the onion, the research philosophy is a set of beliefs and assumptions which will help the researcher in the development of knowledge on a particular topic. The types of research philosophies are different, and choice of the one to use is based on the research question. This research employs an interpretivism philosophy with a closer focus on hermeneutic phenomenological interpretation. Interpretivism is a really popular philosophy in the social world, since it emphasises on the human beliefs and values with an immediate impact on the work of the researcher. The selection of this approach in place of any other was led by the fact that this study is conducted with the scope to find out the challenges of the Allatini Mills and its benefits as a catalyst of urban regeneration.

This exploration is mainly defined by the three communities whose opinions, beliefs and viewpoints impact the aforementioned outcome. The rest of the approaches, illustrated in Diagram 4, are more scientific oriented and, as such, cannot be reflective in the context of a social science topic.

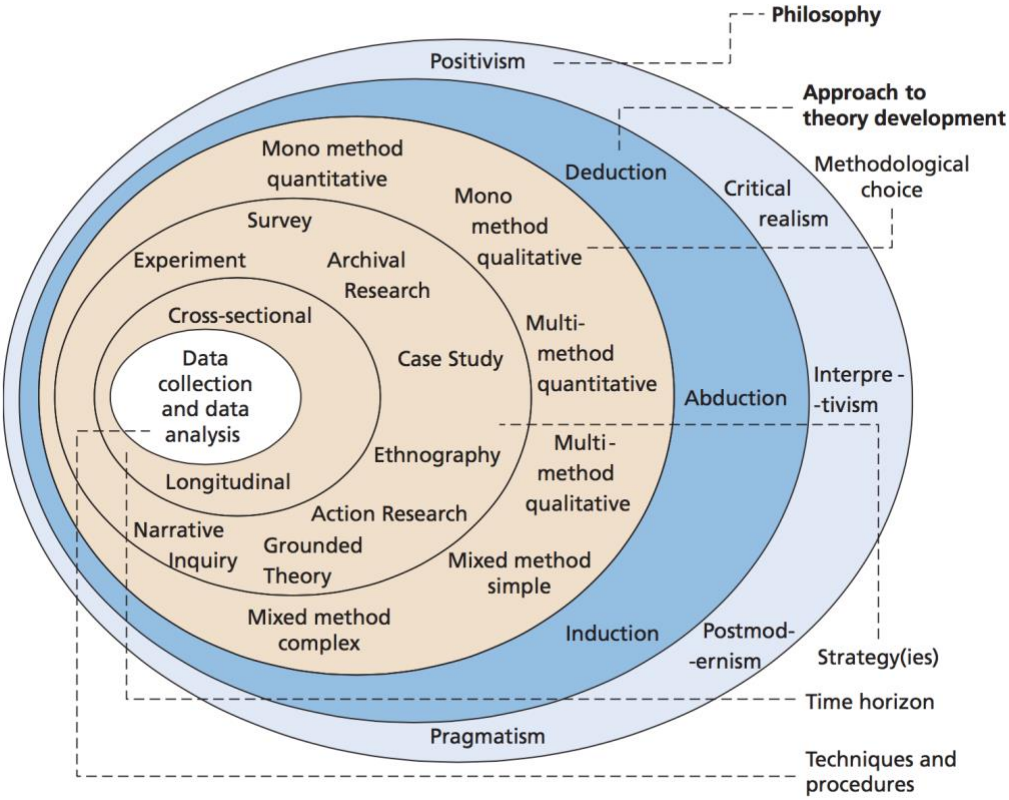


Diagram 4: The research onion (Sauders et al, 2007, 124)

The hermeneutic phenomenological interpretation is reflected more on the practical aspect in this study. More specifically, on the one hand, the historicity, memory and identity topics of inquiry lead to the exploration of cultural artefacts, such as texts, images and stories (Laverty, 2003) and, on the other hand, the urban regeneration topic of inquiry leads to the exploration of the communities' lived experience. Under this term, the first exploration refers to the hermeneuticists focus and the latter on the phenomenological one. Hermeneutic is a philosophical discipline of interpretivism that, according to Ricoeur (1976), is applied to all human activities and cultural systems, as the historically produced texts are able to produce different outcomes and interpretations from what the original creator intended. Under these terms, the study collects old texts that include data for the historical evolution of the Allatini Mills as well as reads

architecture as a “text”. This metaphor is applicable as buildings, such as industrial heritage buildings, are redefined by new uses with an ability to form new landscapes and acquire new meanings. Thus, this study will reveal the tangible and intangible layers of the Allatini Mills’ historical fabric and their impact on its perceptions of the three communities through an array of different resources. Besides, phenomenology focuses on the structure of experience (Polkinghorne, 1983), which in this study is associated with the experience of the three communities towards the changes that the Allatini Mills and Thessaloniki in general have been through. The overall aim is to unravel the shifts of dynamics, along with the main factors or/and actors that started and continued the changes that led to the current formation of the Allatini Mills.

Moving on to the second layer of the Onion, it refers to the type of research and how it should be developed to reach a conclusion by creating either a deductive or an inductive research. The difference between these two types is related to whether there is a predefined theory or hypothesis from the beginning of a research (Saunders et al, 2018). In this study, the inductive research type is used since there is no pre-defined theories related to the main objective of this study. There are a lot of conceptions and misconceptions on the Allatini Mills and its regeneration as a catalyst for the city, but no holistic detailed research has been conducted to date and, consequently, the conclusion will be adjudged and supported by the observations made (Ketokivi and Mantere, 2010). The strength of an inductive type of research is that it enables a cause-effect link to be made between particular variables within a context in which events take place (Sauders et al, 2007). However, according to Hakim (2000), one limitation of induction is that although the conclusion – mostly a conceptual framework – is supported by the observations made, this is not fully ensured. This layer of the Onion also informs the study on the methodological choice, because according to Saunders et al (2007, 155) “researchers in this tradition are more likely to work with qualitative data and to use a variety of methods in order to establish different views of phenomena”. Therefore, in reference to the third layer of the Onion, this study chooses a multi-method qualitative methodological approach, since it is interested in exploring the opinions, beliefs and viewpoints of the three different communities; sometimes that cannot be done through numeric values.

The last two layers of the Onion are quite obvious for this study as firstly, it uses a specific case under examination which facilitating the selection of a case study research strategy to be adopted. In addition, the time horizon that is required for the completion of this study and its data collection is characterised as cross-sectional. This time frame means that the collection of data was performed at a specific point in time from a representative subset or population. This has been applied, in this study, as the respondent's responses and their perceptions on the Allatini Mills' complexity are collected at a specific time, which is determined in the next paragraphs.

Overall, this research is an empirical one as it is conducted to identify the perception of the community of place, action and interest towards the Allatini Mills and its future regeneration. The examination of the Allatini Mills through a hermeneutical phenomenological approach creates at least three points of reference for the analysis: the original, the new and the composite of both. In the following sub-sections, there is an extensive analysis of the methodological strategy employed by this study along with the techniques and procedures of the data collection and analysis.

3.1.1 The case study – the Allatini Mills

The main core of exploration of this thesis is a specific industrial heritage site of Thessaloniki, the Allatini Mills. This core clearly guides the choice of the methodological approach used, since it develops a detailed knowledge about a specific case study (Kvale, 1996; Stockrocki, 1997; Hammersley, 1998; Hancock and Algozzine, 2006). The secondary research additionally confirmed the use of this methodological approach, specific examples were used in order to understand the exploitation of heritage site in other countries. The choice of the Allatini Mills and Thessaloniki was informed by the native knowledge of the researcher of the particular culture. This fact has played an important role to, firstly, capture the distinct character of the specific former industrial site, secondly acknowledge its problems, thirdly extract valuable data and finally discover the links between the different data sets.

The case study nature is also presented through the following research objectives:

1. To explore and analyse the historical significance of the Allatini Mills, from establishment till closure, in terms of its economic, social and cultural impact in the city's fabric.
2. To explore and analyse the complexities introduced for the Allatini Mills site after its closure, the way it affected it and the role of the community of place and community of action.
3. To identify, explore and analyse the creative spaces of Thessaloniki, their identity, values and contribution to the city.

Therefore, by considering the particular objectives, it has been possible to frame the research within a socio-cultural urban regeneration perspective and the case study approach to act both as an object of the study and as a product of inquiry (Creswell, 2013). Various authors postulate the same critical condition for an effective research that is clearly defining the boundaries of the phenomenon, narrowing down the topic and specifying what to include (Huberman and Miles, 2002; Silverman, 2000). For the specific study, the boundaries were set around the three communities of investigation and their impact along with attachment to the case study.

Before moving on the various methods in use, there is a need to highlight that the Allatini Mills case study is not carried out with the intension of applying the findings elsewhere or to other similar cases without considering the particularities of each case (Gillham, 2000). Instead, the case study approach aims at creating a richer and broader pool of data as well as at enhancing the investigation on the topic of industrial heritage regeneration as a catalyst for urban regeneration in Greece. According to Robert E. Stake (1995) this type of case study is an *instrumental* one, because it uses a specific case not only to understand a particular situation, but also to provide insights into a broader issue. The broader issue in the context of this study is the abandonment of industrial heritage in Greece and the need to save and regenerate it.

This research relies on the three fundamental actions of a qualitative approach which are “observing, asking and reading” (Corbetta, 2003, 264) and they have all been succeeded through the use of various qualitative methods. More specifically, Table 2 contextualises the link among the research objectives, the topics of inquiry and the research methods that were used.

Topic of inquiry	Objective	Method
1 – The memory and identity of industrial heritage for a city	To explore and analyse the historical significance of the Allatini Mills, from establishment till closure, in terms of its economic, social and cultural impact in the city’s fabric.	Archival records, 10 semi-structured interviews with the community of place, Architectural documentation.
2 – The regeneration of industrial heritage	To explore and analyse the complexities introduced for the Allatini Mills site after its closure, the way it affected it and the role of the community of place and community of action.	Archival records, 8 semi-structured interviews with the community of action.
3 – The role and identity of creative spaces	To identify, explore and analyse the creative spaces of Thessaloniki, their identity, values and contribution to the city.	15 online questionnaires with creative groups displayed online, 34 semi-structured interviews with the community of interest.

Table 2: The selected methods in relation to the research topics of inquiry and objectives (author’s own, 2019)

Table 2 verifies the fact that Allatini Mills is a matter of “studying a case in relation to the complex dynamics with which it intersects and from which the case itself is inseparable” (Groat and Wang, 2013, 421) through the use of multiple sources of evidence (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin, 2009; Hancock and Algozzine, 2006). Though this way, the bounding of the Allatini Mills is achieved in terms of time and activities that were taken place (Stake, 2010). This interrelation refers, firstly, to the Allatini Mills as an active industry (distant past), secondly, its designation as part of the industrial heritage along with the follow up complexities (near past) and last the present and in the search for possible use considering the creative industries that were created during the crisis years. This bounding ensures that the research remains reasonable in scope.

3.2 Stages of data collection

The present research has collected its data in two different, sequential and inextricably linked stages. The first stage – pilot study – has worked as an assisting basis for the second one – main fieldwork – because it allowed the research to gain an initial understanding on the topics under investigation. The pilot study was mandatory, firstly, due to the lack of previous primary research on the field, since the required sources needed to proceed in a deeper analysis were unknown. Secondly, it was deemed necessary because the case study is located in Thessaloniki and a first visit to locate and come into contact with some fundamental sources was needed along with the examination of research methods suitability, in order a valid study to be performed in the next stage. After the completion of the pilot study, the following nine months were used to reflect on the collected data, to make some changes to the parts that can provide information in the research and finally to design the questions to be asked in the main fieldwork as well as a first contact with the places that keep records for the Allatini Mills. This interim period was followed by the main fieldwork where it was aimed to fulfil the research objectives. Diagram 5 shows in summary the duration of each period and the aims of each stage.

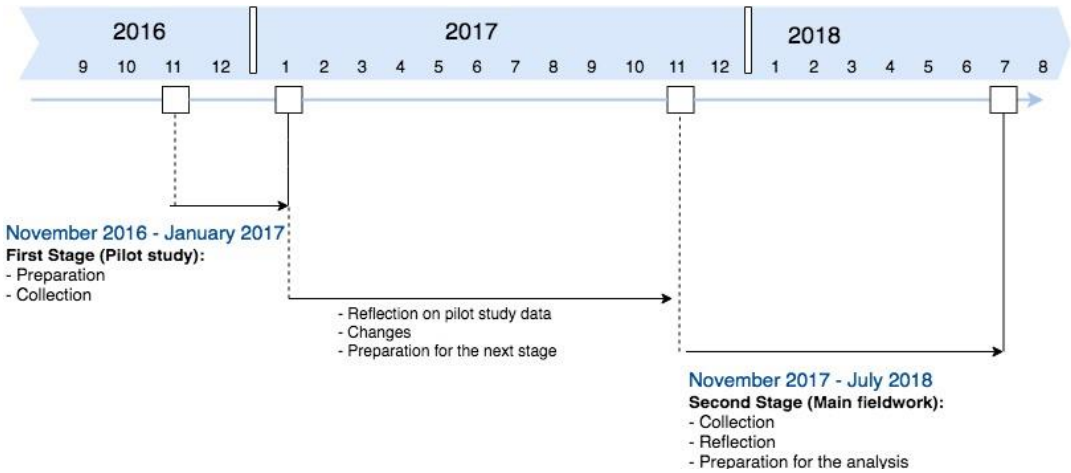


Diagram 5: Timeline of data collection stages (author's own, 2018)

3.2.1 First stage: Pilot study

The pilot study has provided this research with ideas, approaches, and clues that may not have been foreseen prior to conducting the main fieldwork study (Bryman and Bell, 2011). The trip to Thessaloniki served as a networking exercise where personal connections were sought to enable access and pave the way for a more focused fieldwork period. This way let the researcher to “warm to the theme” and avoid “blind sights” (Bryman, 2004, 125), which according to Wengraf (2001, 15) this is described as the difference between tacit knowledge of “knowing how: and the difficulty of “knowing that” articulation. Taking under consideration the objectives of this study three set of actions were planned and took place.

The first set of actions were related to the first objective and the investigation of the available archival records. From a very early stage in this research, due to the Allatini Mills historic character and gaps of information in the literature, the need to access archival records was clear. Following Gillham (2000), when data pertaining to a past situation is incomplete, the archival records that are comprised of a wide array of empirical materials (documents, reports, historical collection) can help a research to fill in this gap. These materials are produced by and about organisations that usually make their data available to the public for research purposes (Gillham, 2000). Therefore, the use of the secondary research and the researcher’s knowledge (due to familiarity with the city) on places in Thessaloniki facilitated the creation of a database with the potential places/organisations to visit. These places were initially the *Central Library of Thessaloniki* and the *Historical Centre of Thessaloniki,* while the secondary research referred to the *Historical Archive of Macedonia* (ΓΑΚ). The records that were retrieved from these two places are listed in Table 3. The *Historical Archives of Macedonia* allowed access only upon request. The permission was granted after an agreement – signed first by the researcher and then by the relevant body – that the data will be used only for research purposes was reached.

Name of Archive	Material Type	Material Name
Central Library of Thessaloniki	Historical Collection	*The History of Entrepreneurship in Thessaloniki* (2004) 3 series of books.
	Magazine (quarterly version)	*Thessalonikewn Polis* (2001)
	Magazine	*Archeology* (1983)
	Magazine	*Technology* (1992) by the Cultural Technological Foundation of a Greek Industrial Development Bank
	Newsletter	*Technology* (1998) by the Cultural Technological Foundation of a Greek Industrial Development Bank
	Newspaper	*Kathimerini* (1999)
	Newspaper	*Aggelioforos* (2012) anniversary edition.
Historical Centre of Thessaloniki	Historical Collection	*Thessaloniki of Allatini's 1776-1911* (2008)
	Book	*Heritage Walks Thessaloniki* (2009)
	Book	*Images from the Industrial Heritage of the Past* (2000)
	Symposium Proceedings	*Thessaloniki after 1912* (1986)
	Book	*The Industrial Heritage of Thessaloniki: From the 19th century until the mid-20th century* (2005) by Unite of Industries in Northern Greece (SBBE).
	Exhibition report	*Thessaloniki 1912-1949 Industry and City* (1989) by Greek Industrial Development Bank
	Scientific Yearbook	Thessaloniki (2008) by the Historical Centre of Thessaloniki.
	Scientific Yearbook	*1915-2015 The First 100 Years* (2016) by Federation of Industries of Northern Greece (SBBE).

Table 3: Archival records collected during the pilot study (author's own, 2018)

The records found in the above-mentioned places formed part of evidence (Kieser, 1994) and they helped the researcher understand the wider context of the Allatini Mills life, establish a base of evidence and gain a better understanding of its nature (Zald, 1993; Corti and Thompson, 2004). In particular, these records provided background knowledge towards Allatini Mills' social, economic and historical evolution, its architectural morphology and its influence in Thessaloniki.

Also, the existence of the original unpublished *Private Allatini Mills* archive was found to be stored in the new industrial plant of the company which is located in the suburbs of Thessaloniki. Overall, the places that keep records for the Allatini Mills were revealed through a snowball process based on the interpersonal communication between the researcher and the archivists of the visited places. These people, such as librarians, helped the researcher to get further insights and guidance that led to the enrichment of more archives for the main fieldwork.

The second set of actions were related to the second objective and the determination of the complexities introduced for the site when the Mills closed as well as the identification of the community of action. In particular, a pilot semi-structured interview was conducted with one of the leading actors from the attempt to regenerate the Mills after 1990. The name of the architectural office – *Makridis Associates* – was exposed through the secondary research and specifically through an article published in the *Parallaxi Magazine* (local free press) on 2012. The questions for this preliminary interview were structured around the architect's knowledge on the attempt, assisted in the identification of the decision-makers, on the reasons of its non-completion and on the future prospects of the Allatini Mills. The interview had a less structured format due to the researcher's limited knowledge on the specific topic at that time. The transcription of the interview data helped the research to, firstly, set up a list of the prospective interviewees (community of action), secondly, reveal the connection between the community of action and community of place. Lastly, the disclosure of archival materials regarding the attempt at the *4th Ephorate of Historical Monuments of Central Macedonia.*

Except from interviewing the architect, an architectural documentation was performed on the same day of the interview, because the architect's office is located opposite the Allatini Mills. In architecture, architectural documentation, is a common way for a researcher to get more engaged with a site in order to obtain raw material about the conditions and characteristics of the place (Groat and Wang, 2013). The choice of this method has been shaped by the background of the researcher, as in the past she has done various architectural documentations during her architectural studies. More specifically, for this study, the architectural documentation aimed to identify the morphological state of the Allatini Mills along

with whether the old buildings exist in the contemporary city. In addition, the researcher mapped and recorded the neighbourhood and the existing uses in order to understand the typology of the area. Although the researcher was already familiar with the context, it was deemed necessary to re-examine the Allatini Mills and avoid preconceptions and minimise bias. The documentation included the technique of photography and drawn documentation of the Allatini Mills and the surrounded area, while enabling the exploration of the changes through their comparison with archival records. The concept of the palimpsestic reading was used here as a means for documentation and, consequently, provided to the study with contextual evidence for the built-form of the Allatini Mills along with its environment.

The third and last set of actions performed were related to the third objective and an initial exploration of Thessaloniki's creative spaces. This was achieved through an online questionnaire due to the scarcity of studies on monitoring, assessing and qualitatively analysing this type of sector in Thessaloniki. This action aimed at helping the research to identify and understand part of their features exhibit before proceeding further in order to produce a large amount of data in a direct and short time (Taylor, 2000; Yun and Trumbo, 2000; Garton et al, 1999). The participants of this questionnaire were originally found through their online (social media, individual's websites) presence, as there were no other channels at that time to reach them or collect data (Wellman, 1997; Garton et al, 1999). They were identified as belonging in the creative industries sector because they were exhibiting characteristics similar to the ones described in the literature review. The design and distribution of the online questionnaires took place through the Google Survey. The questionnaire was distributed to 20 creative spaces with 15 of them participating (see Appendix B). There was a list of 29 open and closed-ended questions (Collis and Hussey, 2003) and they were divided in four interconnected themes. The first theme referred to the features of each business, the contribution and interaction these spaces have with the wider community, while the second explored their networking relations with other creative spaces, the local community and the social infrastructure. The third theme focused on the financial aspects of each business and the fourth on the creative spaces awareness on the term and notion of creative industries (see Appendix C). The decision of the researcher to use a single quantitative method

was made because of the complexity of the particular objective combined with the lack of information from the secondary research, without any intention to characterise the study as quantitative one.

3.2.2 Reflection and preparation for the main fieldwork

After the completion of the pilot study, the researcher was in a position to capture the complexity that the case study represents (Alizadeh, 2006) due to the information obtained. This information required to be analysed in order to prepare the ground for the main fieldwork (Sutrisna and Barratt, 2009; Robson and McCartan, 2016).

About the first set of actions, the collected archival records established a base of evidence for the historical momentousness of the Allatini Mills (Zald, 1993). The key element was that the researcher found out the historically significant time periods of the Allatini Mills. However, neither the exact periods of time nor the activities that took place were well-defined, which necessitated further investigation. The collected archive material also revealed possible locations where other records of Allatini Mills could be stored, so the researcher contacted these places to find out which of them needed or not special permission to access them. For the places requiring special permission, a specific procedure followed, where an application was filled in that included the subject of interest, the subject of the research and the researcher's contact information (see Appendix C). Then, the respective operator had to inform the researcher if there is material available on the subject and finally to grant access to the archival records.

With regards to the second set of actions, some valuable data were found through the interview with the *Makridis Associates* office that assisted the researcher in defining the themes for the follow-up interviews. Specifically, the identified data referred to the *community of action* that is presented in Table 4, the exploration of the *community of place* and the time evolution of the project in conjunction with the obstacles encountered.

Name	Position
Makridis Associates	Architect
Alexandros N. Tombazis and Associates Architects Ltd.	Architect
Porphyrios Associates	Architect
ANCA Antoniou & KASTRO Architectural Office	Civic engineer
Giannis Megas	Project manager
Maria Dousi	Consultant
Nikos Komninos	Consultant
Themeliodomi Construction Company	Owner
Omega Bank	Owner
Thessaloniki of Citizens and Ecology	Lawyer
Ecological Movement of Thessaloniki	Representative of the local community
Thessaloniki Open City	Representative of the local community

Table 4: Community of action of the regeneration attempt (author's own, 2018)

About the third set of action, the pilot study allowed the researcher to understand that Thessaloniki's creative industries present quite different features from those identified in the secondary research, mainly because of the city's financial state and its size; factors that closely affect them. This had an effect on understanding that a borrowed definition deployed for another country cannot be applied to another, since it does not reflect the individual reality. In order to develop a more complete picture of Thessaloniki's creative scene, the researcher tried to find another way to approach it. During this process, the researcher became acquainted with *Handpeak*, which came into being in 2014 and its goal is the presentation, emergence and, by extension, support, promotion and development of selected, local and independent, creators or creative groups, that have an active presence in Thessaloniki. They offer guided walking tours and visits for whoever wants to become acquainted with the creative scene of Thessaloniki. The researcher contacted the project manager of *Handpeak,* who indicated a wealth of information on the local creative scene to the researcher. This collaboration, along with the pilot study data collected, served as the basis

for the study in obtaining appropriate data to explore the creative scene of the city.

In overall, the preliminary trip to Thessaloniki during the pilot study allowed the researcher to become familiar with the data collection process and build up some relations for a more natural research outcome. The researcher then proceeded to the next stage of data gathering, the design of the interviews, and the selection of archival materials.

3.2.3 Second stage: Main fieldwork

The types of data collected during the main fieldwork were archival records, semi-structured interview data and architectural documentation data in order to fully explore the research objectives. The study made use of the methodological triangulation in order to facilitate the analysis of a "phenomenon more fully and to encourage comprehensive understanding and explanation of it" (Maggs-Rapport, 2000, 22). This methodological technique increased the reliability and validity of data (Berg, 2004; Yin, 2009) by allowing the multiple facets of the Allatini Mills case to be both revealed and understood (Meyer, 2001; Johansson, 2003; Baxter and Jack, 2008; Yin, 2009; Denscombe, 2010; Robson and McCartan, 2016). Triangulation is a way to determine whether convergence or divergence of views existed between the collected data from one source to another and, consequently, any potential bias of a single method approach to be overcome (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Kaplan, 2004). All the empirical work of this stage mainly focused on the "people and their interpretation, perception, meanings and understandings" (Mason, 1996, 56).

Starting with the first objective, the researcher visited all the places included in Appendix D in order to find more archival records related to the historicity of the Allatini Mills. Although some places did not have relevant material, which according to Tosh and Seán (2006) is a limitation of this method, but the ones collected proved to be very useful, factual and valuable. The archive incurring the greatest interest was the *Private Allatini Mills File*. The particular file included original files (1897-1980) concerning agreements made between the Allatini owners and relevant institutions, governmental commands, purchase orders,

company protocols, inventory receipts, employment contracts and many more, with some being in English while others being in Greek and some in Italian. Part of them were preserved in a very good condition, while some could not be read at all because of the language and calligraphy. Other types of records collected consisted of historical collections donated by individuals, families or organisations to public agencies that contained rare textual materials. In addition to the textual archival records, the researcher has also found photographs and drawings from scientific yearbooks related to the different morphological states of the Allatini Mills' buildings over the years that helped the researcher to visualise the changes. Table 5 shows in detail all the collected archival records and the places they were found. From the onset up to the end of the collection data stage, it was really beneficial for this study to get access to all this sensitive material, as most of them were hiding unique historical information, general facts and events for the Allatini Mills that effectively uncovered new historical knowledge.

Name of Archive	**Material Type**	**Material Name**
Historical Archives of Macedonia	Historical documents (117 loose documents)	*The Fire in Thessaloniki* (1917)
		Requisition the Allatini Factory for the Accommodation of Firefighters (1917)
		Allatini Sheets to the Labour Office for the Purchase and Consumption of Wheat (1914)
		Thessaloniki's Moving Trade (1914)
		Allatini's Work Report Sheets (1914)
		Letter from the Union of the Guilds of Thessaloniki to the Allatini's Work Office Manager (1914)
		Chamber of Commerce of Thessaloniki for the quantity of flour (1914)
New industrial premises of Allatini LTD	Private Allatini Mills file	*Wages of Workers* (1939)

Name of Archive (cont.)	Material Type	Material Name
		Contracts with French and English Commissariat (1920), *Contracts with the Army of the East* (1921)
		Wages of Workers (1936)
		Sixty Female Workers' Names: Wages and Hours (1931)
		Nationality of Workers (1934)
		Sales and Deliveries Statutes (1939)
		Payroll Statute (1900), *Costs of Health Care for Workers* (1900)
		Payroll Statute (1917-1926)
		Payroll Statute (1939 -1940)
		Concentration of food management for the needs of the city (1922)
		Contracts Between Allatini and the Commercial Company of Thessaloniki (1917)
		Personal Details of Workers (1897-1935)
Society for Macedonian Studies	Historical collection	*The Greek industry and its critics* (1945) by Association of Greek Industries
		The Greek industry in 1954 and 1955, 1959 (1960) by Association of Greek Industries
		Developments and problems of the Greek industry (1957) by National Bank of Greece and Athens
		Labour mobility trends in the Greek industry (1980) by National Centre for Social Research

		Industry Principles in Thessaloniki (1987) by Hellenic Bank for Industrial Development
Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation	Scientific yearbook	*Thessaloniki 1912-1940: Industry and Town* (1989)

Table 5: Collected archival records about the historicity of the Allatini Mills (author's own, 2018)

For the same objective, the researcher conducted ten semi-structured interviews in order to recall the community of place's memories on the Allatini Mills' past. Interviews are central to the qualitative research (Silverman, 2000; Bryman, 2004; Marschall and Rossman, 2006) as they allow access to diverse people and experiences (Bryman, 2004) and facilitate the gathering of large amounts of data (Marschall and Rossman, 2006). Qualitative interviews offer a direct method due to the intervention between the researcher, the interviewee and the environment or context in which the interview takes place (Silverman, 2000; Hayes, 2001; Bryman, 2004). The interview covers a broad range of definitions and practices. For the present study, the semi-structured interviews were employed, as it was a way for the researcher "to have a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered and the interviewee to have a great deal of leeway in how to reply" (Bryman, 2004, 314), since "knowledge emerges through dialogue" (Kvale, 1996, 125). The questions of these interviews are presented in Appendix D, where their aim was to allow people of different age to project their feelings, experiences and emotions linked with the Allatini Mills (O'Reilly et al, 2017). Along with examining their knowledge on the challenges that the Mills has been through and their viewpoint on its future regeneration. The profile of interviewees extracted at the beginning of the interviews is summarised in the Table 6, where *R* is the acronym used for Resident.

Interviewee Code	Age	Years of Residence
R1	50	25
R2	70	70
R3	45	15
R4	60	60
R5	68	68
R6	43	10
R7	58	20
R8	80	80
R9	47	23
R10	70	70

Table 6: The participants of the community of place in the interviews (author's own, 2018)

Continuing with the second objective of this study, during the main fieldwork there were conducted eight semi-structured interviews with the community of action in order to study the Allatini Mills "in relation to the complex dynamics with which it intersects and from which the case itself is inseparable" (Groat and Wang, 2013, 421). Before, during, and after the interviews, reflective field notes were taken in order to capture the impressions, feelings, and initial assessments of the interview situation itself. Table 7 presents the interview participants along with their professional identity and their role within the attempt. Aside from the practical aspect, such as to check equipment, to carry out interviews in a quiet environment and to speak clearly (Patton, 2002), attention was given to the question framing (Kvale, 1996). They were kept short and plainly formulated in order to reframe a vocabulary common to both the researcher and the informant (Hayes, 2001; Patton, 2002; Bryman, 2004). The questions were based on the impacts of the various factors of the regeneration attempt; the problems in reaching agreement on the future; who the key decision-makers have been; what options have been proposed and by whom (Appendix F). There were six interrelated thematic units, where the first unit consisted of some general background questions aiming at warming up the interviewee so as to understand each person's general context of participation in the regeneration project. The second unit proceeded in some more historically oriented questions focusing on the participant's perception of the Allatini Mills as part of the industrial heritage and the role this factor played in their decision-making process. More questions

followed on the third unit that focused on the regeneration proposal, its aim, objectives, possible problems and the contribution of the proposed uses to the common good of the local community as well as how the new uses were conceived. The fourth unit was closely related to the previous one, as it focused on the economic benefits of the attempt and whether they played a dominant role in their decision-making process. The fifth unit focused on the community of place and their assistance in the attempt, while the last one on the future exploitation of the Allatini Mills and whether the local creative industries could be a solution. While performing this series of semi-structured interviews, the researcher found that during the regeneration attempt, there was a group of local residents that acted against the project. Therefore, the researcher contacted two representatives of this group and interviewed them by using the same questionnaire. Another action during the main fieldwork was that the researcher got access at the *5th Ephorate of Historical Monuments of Central Macedonia,* which kept one file under the title "Approval of Pre-Study, Change of Use and Regeneration of the Allatini Mills in Thessaloniki Under the Stakeholder Themeliodomi A.E and Astikes Anaptikseis A.E". This file included details on the approvals for its designation as a cultural heritage site, the procedural changes performed during the Allatini Mills regeneration attempt, the alterations of the building's morphology and a list of further actions that the stakeholders needed to follow. Table 8 lists in detail the documents found in this file. Overall, All the above-mentioned methods allowed the researcher to collect and compile very important information so that it can then analyse and draw conclusions about historicity of the Allatini Mills, how it was reflected in the city as well as the challenges that have been through after its closure.

Name	**Position**	**Project responsibility**
Makridis Associates Architects	Architect	Architectural proposal & design
Alexandros N. Tombazis and Associates Architects	Architect	Buildings layout
ANCA Antoniou & Kastro Architectural Office	Civil engineer	Design & construction of the underground parking area

Name(cont.)	Position	Project responsibility
Thessaloniki of Citizens and Ecology	Lawyer	Lawyer that represented the local community
Ecological Movement of Thessaloniki	Representative	Against the regeneration attempt
Consultant	Aristotle University of Thessaloniki	Consultation for the cultural heritage part
R11	Local community	Representative of the local residents against the attempt
R12	Local community	Representative of the local residents against the attempt

Table 7: The participants of the community of action in the interviews (author's own, 2018)

Name	Material Type	Material Name
Directorate of Protection and Restoration of Modern and Contemporary Monuments	Historical document	*Basic Principles of the Industry in Thessaloniki (1870-1912)* (1987) by ETBA
	Newspaper	*No more demolitions (1987)*
	Book section	*Architect Vitaliano Poselli: His works in Thessaloniki of the 19th century (1980)*
	Ministerial decision	*Designation the Allatini Mills Buildings and its Surrounding Area as a Historic Monument Buildings of Thessaloniki (1991)*
	Statute	*Transfer Authorization Building Factor That Has Been Designated A Listed Building (1992)*
	Ministerial decision	*Declassification the historical listed industrial building complex monument in Thessaloniki (1992)*
		Approval of a Rehabilitation Study and Change of Use of the Former Dwelling Manager Building of the Listed Industrial Complex Allatini Mills (1994)

Directorate of Protection and Restoration of Modern and Contemporary Monuments (cont.)		*Approval of New Building Units in the Surrounding Area of the Listed Industrial Complex Allatini Mills (2003)*
	Press	*The Stakeholders' Planning for the Exploitation of the Allatini Mills (2003)*
	Newspaper	*East Side of Thessaloniki is Changing: Allatini Mills is Being Used for Housing, Office and Green space (2003)*
	Ministerial decision	*Clarification for the Use of the Building 24 as Museum of Allatini Mills History (2006)*
	Structural indications	*Environmental Impact Study and Project Design: Large Scale Private Car Parking (2006)*
	Ministerial decision	*Approval of Work in The Surrounding Area of the Listed Industrial Complex Allatini Mills and Approval of the Final Study for the Construction of Underground Parking (2007)*

Table 8: Collected archival records about the regeneration attempt of the Allatini Mills (author's own, 2018)

In regard to the third objective under examination, during the fieldwork stage, the researcher got access to the locations and the contact details of Thessaloniki's creative spaces through the *Handpeak* manager. These locations formed the basis of the mapping activity that the researcher undertook. They were independently visited by the researcher in order their continued existence to be verified, since the volatility of both the economic situation and the nature of these spaces did not guarantee their survival. During the mapping activity, more creative spaces were discovered resulting in the visualisation of Figure 6 along with the location of the Allatini Mills.

Figure 6: Location of the identified creative spaces (author's own, 2018)

After the mapping, the researcher contacted 38 semi-structured interviews, where the profiles of the participants are presented in Table 9. The interviews took place at the creative space of each participant. This setting played an important role, as the researcher came closer to the creative process of each participant and had also the chance to see the creative outcome as well as make the participant feel more comfortable in his/her own space. The interview was organised in five main theme units that is enclosed in Appendix G. The first unit was about the background details of the space that provided the research with information about the newness of it along with its capacity and then continued with the next unit related to the creative vibrancy. This unit was intended to understand the specificity of the creative work and the potential problems for both the everyday life and the personal life of the creator. The third unit focused on the benefits that a creative business can deliver and whether its profitable. The theme of the fourth unit consisted of questions on the surrounding environment as well as the other existing creative industries and whether there is a sense of support, collaboration and exchange of ideas. The last unit with more general questions was focused on the possible co-location with other spaces in a building that is part of the industrial heritage.

Name	Field	Est.
Pop-up & Paper Stories	Binding and related activities	2015
Stereosis	Photographic activities	2009
Pnoinyksi	Manufacture of musical instruments	2010
Postman Bike Shop	Manufacturing of bicycles	2016
Kirki	Manufacture of jewellery	2015
Dimmer Lightining	Specialised design activities	2014
Torokanidi	Manufacture of footwear	2010
Mots	Manufacture of jewellery	2016
Ink Workshop	Creative activities, arts and recreation	2010
Elektronio	Specialised design activities / Manufacture of bicycles	2015
Custom Architectural Workshop	Architectural & 3D printing activities	2017
Bibliodeteio	Binding and related activities	2009
Second Floor Workshop	Binding and related activities	2015
Kapanigraphix & the Flying Fig	Specialised design activities	2017
2 Concept Stores	Creative activities, arts and recreation	2015
Art2wear	Manufacture of jewellery	2009
My Ring	Manufacture of jewellery and related articles	2013
Jenny's work	Manufacture of jewellery	2017
Wood for the Soul	Creative activities, arts and recreation	2015
Eleni Xasioth	Specialised design activities	2009
Koumpi Coffee and Craft	Manufacture of jewellery and related articles	2014
Sxedia stin Poli	Creative activities, arts and recreation	2009
Olga Kaleni	Manufacture of jewellery and related articles	2009
Spazio 12	Specialised design activities	2014
Seiklo	Manufacture of musical instruments	2016
Ioannam	Manufacture of jewellery and related articles	2013
Bord de l'eau	Manufacture of objects / Specialised design activities	2011
Violino	Manufacture of musical instruments	2009
The Paint Box	Creative activities, arts and recreation	2015
Slab	Specialised design activities	2015
Sinkleta	Specialised design activities / Manufacture	2014
Dot 2 dot	Creative activities, arts and recreation	2013

Name (cont.)	Field	Est.
Make	Creative activities & 3D printing	2013
Eikositria	Manufacture of jewellery and related articles	2016

Table 9: The participants of the community of interest in the interviews (author's own, 2018)

In overall, finding these creative spaces was a great experience for the researcher, as most of them were really positive to be part of this study and contribute to it with their experience in order for their creative field to be expanded upon an academic research. Except from collecting data per se, the research needed to adhere to a set of robust and carefully complied ethical guidelines in order to make sure that there will be no harm caused to the participants. These guidelines are extensively analysed in the following section.

3.3 Ethical considerations

The ethical guidelines that this research fulfilled, both during the first and second data collection stage, were based on the University of Lincoln's Ethical Guidelines. Each person that was part of this project was issued with an interview guide, send via an e-mail, before their participation in order to give them the right to reject or to get involved in the project, or even to approach the researcher with more questions. This guide functioned as a provisional outline for the interview and the ethical implications about the study itself (Kvale, 1996; Hayes, 2001; Bryman, 2004). In addition, this action aimed at bringing the respondents closer to the interview process and making them feel more comfortable by helping them understand the direction of the interview. The guide itself included the research purpose, the method in use and the intended use of their contributions along with the obligations and limitations of the study. All the interviews took place between December 2017 and March 2018 and the sequence of the interviews was determined by the availability of the interviewees contacted. The people who accepted the invitation provided inputs on the time and location of the interview in order to set it up. In regard to the community of action, the interviews hold at their professional space and in terms of the community of place the interviews was set in their living space. After this step, each participant was asked to sign a consent form that allowed the research to use the data gathered from the interviews for research purposes (see Appendix E). The consent form defined the

identity of the researcher and the nature of the research. It also explained the purpose of the interviews and granted permission to use the data gathered from the interview as data in the thesis by the individual participants. Participants could choose to be called by their professional identity or to be keep anonymous. The recording was in an audio format captured on the researcher's mobile phone. The ethical considerations have been also followed in the archival data collection, where the researcher was really careful on the way that she will extract the needed records which was either by photocopying them or by photographing them.

During the data collection process, there was open and transparent undertaking of the different used methods. This is also supported by the fact that data collection was driven by voluntary participation as the participants could withdraw from the process at any time without fear of repercussions in case they felt uncomfortable or compromised. Consequently, this form protected the participants from any ethical bias. Both the interview guide and the consent form were translated into the local language (Greek) to ensure that it was accessible and understandable to the interviewees. The participants were also provided with the researcher's full name, University's email address and the Director of Studies name. There were no vulnerable individuals as the research has not included children or people with mental illness, disability or handicap. The interview recordings were transcribed after the data collection stage and only the researcher had access to the participants' information. The data research adhered to best practice in data protection as it has been stored electronically on a password protected computer, where any hard copies of information such as consent forms and archival records have been kept secure.

3.4 Data analysis process

The data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the collected data in order for data to be analysed into a clear, understandable, insightful way and be transformed into findings (Marshall and Rossman, 2006; Gibbs, 2007; Leedy and Ormrod, 2010). In this study, as there are no fixed formulas to be followed for a case study data analysis, the data is analysed by using a thematic analysis which is a process for encoding the qualitative data in

a logical way. According to Richard E. Boyatzis (1998, 4), one of the fundamental initiators of this process, thematic analysis is defined as a "way of seeing and a way of making sense of and analysing that allows the researcher to analyse, process and interpret qualitative data". Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2006, 79) state that thematic analysis is a method of "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data". In order to carry out a systematic analysis, the latter authors have created a framework consisting of six guidelines to follow when carrying out a thematic analysis. This particular approach was adopted by this study throughout the thematic analysis process in order to create a logical and systematic approach to analysis and is shown in Table 10.

Phases	**Description**
1st Familiarising yourself with your data	Transcription of data by reading and re-reading the data along with noting down initial ideas.
2nd Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic manner across the entire data set and collating data relevant to each code.
3rd Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes by gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4th Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Phase 1) and the entire data set (Phase 2) and then generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5th Defining and naming themes	On-going analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6th Producing the report (Chapter 4, Chapter 5, Chapter 6)	The initial opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Table 10: Thematic analysis framework (Braun and Clarke, 2006, 5)

Based on the data extracted from Table 13, the next sub-section describes and rationalises the process that this study followed and the way the collected data was organised and analysed.

3.4.1 The qualitative analysis of data

1st Phase – Engaging with the data

This phase of the thematic analysis is related to the engagement of the researcher with the data in order to ensure familiarity with the depth and breadth of the content (Braun and Clarke, 2006). In reference to this study, this engagement was achieved in different ways depending on the method in use. For the archival records, the researcher has divided the records according to their content (Corti and Thompson, 2004). The first group of records were the architectural data that included drawings, maps and photographs of the Allatini Mills. Then, the second group were the socio-cultural data consisting of law text, reports, strategy documents, policy statements and governmental decisions. The last group was the historical data which contained the scientific yearbooks, historical collections, books, newspapers and magazines. Regarding the data that emerged through the fieldwork documentation, the photographs have been categorised into those that represent the morphological structures of the building and those depicting the wider context. Lastly, regarding the semi-structured interviews, the researcher started during this phase of analysis the transcription of the data which consisted of included the verbatim transcription through the audio recordings. The researcher listened to them for a couple of times in order to ensure that she became acquainted with the data for the purpose of analysis and interpretation as well as check the data for accuracy. The process of transcription along with notation symbols, comments and field notes was used to capture the interviews' recordings in order for the researcher to gain as much of the complete picture as possible (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Henning et al, 2004). The transcription was finalised by re-reading all of the transcribed text in order for the researcher to be familiar with the data and then to begin with the initial coding of the second phase (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

2nd Phase – Generating Initial Codes

The second phase was about the initial coding of the data, when the researcher documented where and how patterns occurred along with the generation of codes. This phase was related to the semi-structured interviews, where the

transcribed text – of the previous phase – was arranged in codes and, in particular, patterns were identified within the data set. The codes are names or labels assigned to specific units or segments identified within the transcripts (Henning et al, 2004; Neuman, 2011), which was conducted manually for the purposes of this study. A sample of a coded interview transcript is presented in Appendix H.

3rd Phase – Searching for Themes

After the completion of the second phase, an evaluation of the relevant codes was pursued by assigning the related codes in broader themes to the research aim and identifying the relationships between them in order to consider how these codes could be combined (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Therefore, the various codes that dealt with the aspirations, problems, thoughts, experience and perceptions of the people involved in the regeneration attempt of Allatini Mills as well as the ones coming from Thessaloniki's creative spaces were combined into potential key themes followed by the interview themes. The outcome was the identification of themes that were used as a basis for reasoning, argumentation, deliberation, contemplation and formulation of the next chapters. At the same phase, the data from the archival records were also triangulated with the data acquired from the data of the semi-structured interviews as well as the secondary data (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Yin, 2009) in order for the archival data to be integrated in the themes.

4th Phase – Reviewing the Themes

During this phase the themes were further refined. Braun and Clarke (2006) note that it is important to review the themes which have been identified by revisiting the data extracts and by checking that they appear to form a coherent pattern. As a result, the researcher was able to elicit meanings and insights from the data extracts within this phase. The patterns that emerged were further refined and the researcher was able to make links between the research aim and objectives and the identified patterns. This reviewing was reflective because a constant evaluation took place alternating between the recordings, transcripts, codes and themes.

5th Phase – Defining and Naming Themes

The purpose of phase five is to further define the key themes and name them. The researcher recognised the key links, relationships and differences between the data and the themes identified. Consequently, the major themes and the description of these key themes were produced. Additionally, to ensure the quality of the analysis, this was not a linear process and indeed the researcher continued to check the data extracts and themes in order to verify that the data was appropriate for the themes that had been identified. Consequently, these final revised themes were related to the Allatini Mills' historical significance, dissonance and disinherited decisions, community engagement, new perspectives as well as the input, output, values of the creative production. The primary research includes historical data found through archival records that complements the historical data of the secondary research.

3.4.2 Limitations of the data analysis

One of the limitations during the data analysis was the translation of the extracted data, as they were in Greek language. Translations can bring several limitations to a research project (Birbili, 2000; Bryman, 2004; Bryman and Bell, 2007). For example, translations cause complications because the words and phrases used to describe experiences or situations vary, not only between people from two different countries, but also between people from the same country who live in different regions (McDonald, 2000; Sullivan and Cottone, 2010). Accordingly, a conceptual sameness between languages was needed to be ensured, as well as ensure that the way this was done needed to be explicit (Birbili, 2000; Sullivan and Cottone, 2010). In order to ensure conceptual equivalency, the researcher – who was also the translator – translated, as closely as possible, the answers given by the participants and the meanings as interpreted in the findings. The reader could therefore understand the meaning as it was expressed in the findings that originated from data in the Greek language. However, the only differentiation was that in some cases of names/titles of both the interviewees and the archival records, where an exact translation could not be made, a transliteration took place instead. Though this way, the meaning of any piece of data was not allowed to be lost and thus sustained the validity of the study.

Another limitation has arisen from the use of the historical data due to their limited and indirect character, which in many cases is unknown to the researcher. Because of this limitation, all the historical and archival data was critically analysed in this study in order to avoid any bias. This limitation was also explored during the literature review and the issues of using historical records. Within this in mind, the researcher analysed the archival records in parallel with the semi-structured interviews in order to create findings that come both from people and from archival material.

A last but quietly important limitation was my role as an insider in this study. Since I was born and raised in Thessaloniki, I am a member of the local community under investigation, which gave me the ability to be well experienced on the problems and needs of this city. However, being an insider has both advantages and disadvantages in terms of collecting, analysing and writing the data. The advantages are mainly referring to the depth and breadth of understanding of the researcher towards the city and its population, because, in my case, I share the same identity, language and experiential base with my study participants (Asselin, 2003; Kanuha, 2000). During the collection of data, the role of the insider helped me a lot, because I was already familiar with Thessaloniki's archives, the Allatini Mills location as well as with the creative scene. This was a good starting point for me in order to reach more participants and create an in-depth exploration of my case study. In addition, the participants were more open with me, since I am a Greek native speaker and I was working as an architect for few years. Participants were more willing to share their experiences because there was an assumption of understanding and of shared distinctiveness. My architectural experience combined with my familiarity with the Allatini Mills helped me to create a level of trust between the various participants as well as understand the importance of preserving this heritage site due to its key location and history. Moving to the disadvantages, mainly perceived as limitations, are the questions about objectivity, reflexivity, and authenticity of the research project, because an insider may know too much or is too close to the project (Kanuha, 2000). In my case, this was also a problem that I faced throughout my research, since I was feeling that my dual role creates an uncertainty of whether I have been objective or not. In order to minimise this risk, I have tried to analyse the data as an outsider

by reading both my field notes and the interview transcripts numerous times. In addition, I performed an architectural fieldwork on the area around the Allatini Mills in order to capture its present needs and not rely on my familiarity with the research setting. Another thing that helped me a lot to stay objective is to take some time and step back from my research in order to read it again and make sure that I explain the findings in depth. I fully acknowledge that there may be drawbacks as an insider, but at the same time my enthusiasm for this research topic contributes to knowledge, since there is still no study on Thessaloniki that analyses the Allatini Mills in detail by discovering the complexities with an overall intention to regenerate it as an urban catalyst for the city.

3.5 Conclusions

This chapter has described and justified the general philosophical and methodological approach adopted by this study that shaped it and guided it until the data analysis. While the research question is focusing on a specific situation, the most suitable way to answer it was through a case study approach. The inductive reasoning process has enabled the identification of three topics of inquiry that permitted the objectives of the thesis to be answered.

In the beginning of the chapter, there was an analysis of the philosophical approach through the use of the Onion and the reasons behind the selection of a case study research methodology. By adopting a case study strategy, it has been possible to undertake a deep exploration of the Allatini Mills – a unique site – as well as Thessaloniki's creative spaces through the use of multiple methods. All the used methods used were intended to contribute to the gathering of data that can help in defining the challenges of regenerating the Allatini Mills in order to work as an urban catalyst for the city by employing creative spaces as a possible use. The second section of the chapter presented the two-stage collection data process and the way the research moved from scoping the topical focus of the study to collecting empirical materials in the field. This section has been divided according to the initial objectives of the study presented in Chapter 1. The final section described how the analytic procedure of thematic analysis and its tools were used to make sense of the empirical data in detail. The next chapters move on to the analysis and the discussion of the findings.

Chapter 4. Analysis of the historical account of the Allatini Mills: Remembering the distant past

4.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the data gathered from the archival records, the semi-structured interviews and the fieldwork documentation that creates a historical re-narration of the Allatini Mills (1857 to 1977) from its establishment until its closure as an industry. In particular, this analysis concentrates on exploring and remembering the historicity of the Allatini Mills that shaped its strong memory and identity throughout the years. The archival records make it possible to understand the aspirations, goals, structure and mission of the Allatini Mills in the past. In conjunction with testimonies of the community of place, they reveal the dialogue between this part of the local society and the Allatini Mills through exploring their attached memories, feelings, emotions and values. The combination of the archival records and the data from semi-structured interviews provides a well-balanced analysis. Consequently, this chapter creates a collective 'bottom-up' historical knowledge for the Allatini Mills, whose memory and identity are re-conceptualised in the present, along with the consolidation and preservation of its identity for the future (Erll, 2011). This also helps the study to understand the significance of the place and, consequently, the importance of its preservation for the present and future generations.

4.2 The birth and the power of the Allatini Mills as an active industry

The history of Thessaloniki goes back twenty-three centuries, while the most important economic changes occurred during its transitional periods during 1830-1880 and 1880-1950; the period of early and then embedded industrialisation (Vakalopoulos, 2007; Deligianni et al, 2013). Thessaloniki was the most important transit trade centre in the Balkans, as it had the largest port in the region. This significant identity has been reflected through various attributed characterisations such as 'trade centre', 'major port', 'cultural crossroad' and 'Balkan metropolis' (Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation, 1989), which nowadays give an

indirect acknowledgment of the importance of the city's industrial past. One of the industrial units that played a really important economic, social and cultural role was the Allatini Mills. According to the philosopher Edgar Morin, who is cited in Hekimoglou and Roupa (2004):

> The Allatini brothers brought the industrial revolution in Thessaloniki when they set up the Allatini Mills, and later a brickwork, a brewery and a tobacco factory and through this way, they opened the doors to the cultural revolution (2004, 20).

The Allatini Mills marked a great historical era of the city, as it was founded in 1857 (during the Ottoman occupation) and ceased its operation during the 20th century (Rekanati, 1986). The strong presence of the Allatini Mills turned the former industrial space into a landmark for the city, which now dominates within the *Depo* area surrounded by other industrial premises, polykatoikies and neoclassical residences. The operation of the Allatini Mills lasted for 150 years and it was not only an economic asset for the city but also a place with a strong social role and architectural significance. Part of this strong identity is attributed to the Allatini family and the innovation it brought to the city not only through the Allatini Mills but also through a number of other industrial units. The Allatini Mills is one of the few industries in Greece with such a long history that are still extant. The multifaceted character of the Allatini Mills is revealed through the archival records and the testimonies of the community of place that have been analysed based on the magnitude of its identity through its economic, social and architectural dimension. The *Private Allatini Mills File* record plays a significant role in this analysis, consisting of unique rare documents that provide information on the Allatini Mills from 1898 until 1980. In addition, the community of place testimonies are equally valuable since the old residents remember the Allatini Mills as an active industry, while the newcomers have memories related to its present appearance. No matter the length experiences different people bring in one place though, they all contribute to the place's distinctiveness and continuity in time.

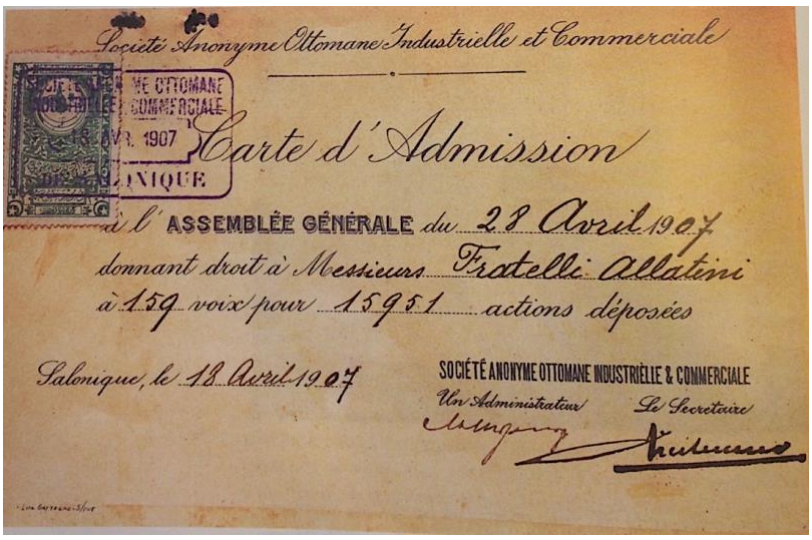
4.2.1 The economic role of the Allatini Mills

This analysis starts with some background information on the Allatini Mills and the way it was established in Thessaloniki that leads this study to the exploration of the economic role of the case study. The Allatini Mills emerged under a partnership between *Darblay de Corblay* – a French company – and the three Allatini brothers (Moses, Darius and Salomon) who established the first steam-engine flourmill in Thessaloniki following the European standards (Federation of Industries of Northern Greece, 2016). The insight of the Allatini brothers, combined with the trade relations they had developed with France, gave them the opportunity to make a significant investment in Thessaloniki. Darblay de Corblay was involved because, according to the *Technology* (1992) magazine, it was a well-known company for its manufacturing activity in flour mills around Europe. As the historical collection *The Greek Industry and its Critics* (1945) revealed, the Darblay de Corblay had the biggest share of the Allatini Mills as well as the biggest say in decisions made in the beginning of this partnership. However, the Allatini brothers bought the French company's shares in 1883 and the industry belonged entirely to them, with Moses appointed as a head director. According to Panagiotis I. Georgoulis (2005), the Allatini family expanded their activities further during the same year and founded the first brick and tile production industry in Thessaloniki – as well as a brewery and a soap factory. Except from expanding their own businesses, they were also partnering in other industries, because as *The History of Entrepreneurship in Thessaloniki* (2004) discloses, the Allatini family participated in the establishment of the largest tobacco company of that era, the *Commercial Company of Salonica.* Therefore, the contribution of the Allatini brothers and the entire Allatini family is evidenced by their strong and decisive economic character that was deemed imperative to the economic progress of the city. This is also confirmed through the brief historical exploration of Thessaloniki in Chapter 1, where the Jewish refugees of the city are presented as the key commercial and banking agents from the mid-16th century onwards (Hekimoglou and Roupa, 2004).

The magnitude of the Allatini family interventions is extensively confirmed by the Allatini Mills performance, since the *Thessaloniki's Moving Trade* (1914) record presents that there were five-hundred mills in the city, but the Allatini Mills had

the largest production – and hence greatest significance not only for Thessaloniki but for the North part of Greece in general. This fact can be also verified by the *Payroll Statue* (1900), where 250 people are recorded as employed; a fairly high number for the norm of the era. As such, the operation of the Allatini Mills benefited not only the owners but also the inhabitants of Thessaloniki as it employed a large part of its local population. The operation of the Allatini Mills had greatly influenced the life of the broader area, since it created a busy and lively district.

The influence of the Allatini family exerted on the city was not only limited in the industrial production, but also in the establishment of a broader economy that enabled the adoption of European planning ideas. Crucial in this process was the establishment of the first private bank in Thessaloniki by the Allatini family (Ilicak, 2004). In particular, the Allatini brothers established the *Banque de Salonique* in 1888 (Rekanati, 1986) that was initially built at the garden of the Allatini family house and after some years eventually transferred to Istanbul. According to *Allatini's Work Report Sheet* (1914) record, this bank was facilitating the transactions of the Allatini Mills and other industries. The territory of the Allatini family was further empowered when they created a single company profile in 1907 (Society for Macedonian Studies, 1987). Both the Allatini Mills and the Allatini brickwork industry merged under the *Société Anonyme Ottomane Industrielle & Commerciale De Salonique* and is visible in all the official documents enclosed in the Private Allatini Mills File (Figure 7). Therefore, from the data so far, it becomes apparent that the Allatini family started shaping Thessaloniki's economic identity from the moment they emigrated in the city. It is clear from the above that the Allatini Mills was an innovation-based industry that introduced new methods and processes, while the Allatini family created a new market model that upgraded the city and had a significant influence on its economic life.


Société Anonyme Ottomane Industrielle et Commerciale

Carte d'Admission

à l'ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE du 28 Avril 1907

donnant droit à Messieurs Fratelli Allatini

à 159 voix pour 15951 actions déposées

Salonique, le 18 Avril 1907

SOCIÉTÉ ANONYME OTTOMANE INDUSTRIELLE & COMMERCIALE

Un Administrateur

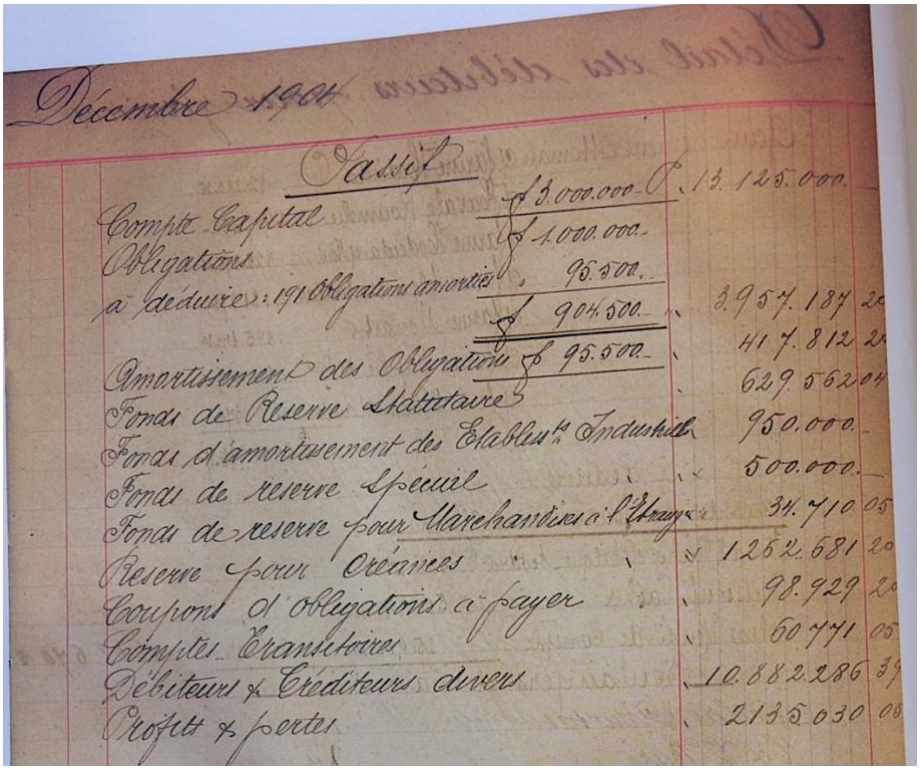
Le Secrétaire

Figure 7: Agreement of the new company's profile (Private Allatini Mills File, 1907)

In the following years, there was a global economic recession starting in 1906 that led to the bankruptcy of many commercial industries across the world (Bordo and Eichengreen, 1999). The Allatini Mills exhibited the ability to overcome the difficult circumstances, since the *Allatini Sheets to the Labour Office for the Purchase and Consumption of Wheat* (1905-1907) and *Delivery Protocols* (1907) present a profit increase. A quarter of the profits came from commercial activities as part of its products were supplied to other countries, while the rest from industrial ones (Adam-Beleni et al, 2001) (Figure 8). The list of the Allatini Mills clientele was numbering 5,000 professionals and private individuals. Based on these facts and on the *Thessaloniki of Allatini's 1776-1911* (2008), it can be deduced that the Allatini Mills industry was one of the most powerful and resilient businesses of Thessaloniki that ensured the continuity of production in the region.

However, the historical events of Thessaloniki reformed the operation of the Allatini Mills. During the Italian-Turkish War in 1912, the Ottoman government started to expel the Italians of Thessaloniki and, as result, a large number of industries were purchased by Greek businessmen or closed down (Kolonas and Traganou-Deligiannh, 1989). The same fate befell to the Allatini Mills, because members of the Allatini family with Italian origins were obliged to leave Thessaloniki. As a result, they were forced to divest part of their property and sell a large percentage of their shares (Hekimoglou, 1996). In *Thessaloniki of Allatini's 1776-1911* (2008), it is mentioned that this event affected the Allatini Mills in terms of its administration, as the Allatini family appointed Greek

managers through whom they were able to control their business from abroad. Another significant impact of this war was that the Ottoman authorities forcibly closed down the *Banque de Salonique,* which provoked an acute financial crisis in Thessaloniki's market due to its large market influence (Greek Industrial Development Bank, 1989). As such, these records once again highlight the power that the Allatini family exercised during those years in the financial operation of the city.


Décembre 1904

Passif

Compte Capital	£ 3.000.000	13.125.000
Obligations	£ 1.000.000	
à déduire : 191 Obligations amorties	95.500	
	£ 904.500	3.957.187 20
Amortissement des Obligations	£ 95.500	417.812 20
Fonds de Réserve Statutaire		629.562 04
Fonds d'amortissement des Etablissts Industriels		950.000
Fonds de réserve Spécial		500.000
Fonds de réserve pour Marchandises à l'Etranger		34.710 05
Réserve pour Créances		1.252.681 20
Coupons d'Obligations à payer		98.929 20
Comptes Transitoires		60.771 05
Débiteurs & Créditeurs divers		10.882.286 39
Profits & pertes		2.135.030 00

Figure 8: Allatini sheets to the labour office for the purchase and consumption of wheat (Historical Archives of Macedonia, 1905-1907)

The historical events continued to imprint on the Allatini Mills with the appointment of a new administration in 1926 consisting of 19 Greek businessmen (Figure 9) from Southern Greece and, according to the signature on *the Payroll Statute* (1945) record, the new manager of the industry until 1945 was Kosmas Panoutsos. During the post-war situation in Greece in 1950, Kosmas Panoutsos appointed his two daughters – Marieta Manou and Irene Vrachnou – as new directors of the Allatini Mills, who bought all of the industry's shares from those living abroad in order to secure their absolute superiority (Hekimoglou and Roupa, 2004). Despite the multi-ownership modifications, the name of the industry remained the same and, thus, the strong identity of the industry has

remained unchanged over time. This shows the importance that the industry had acquired, creating a sense of the continuity with its past through its name (Hayden, 1995) as it became synonymous to a beloved value in Thessaloniki.

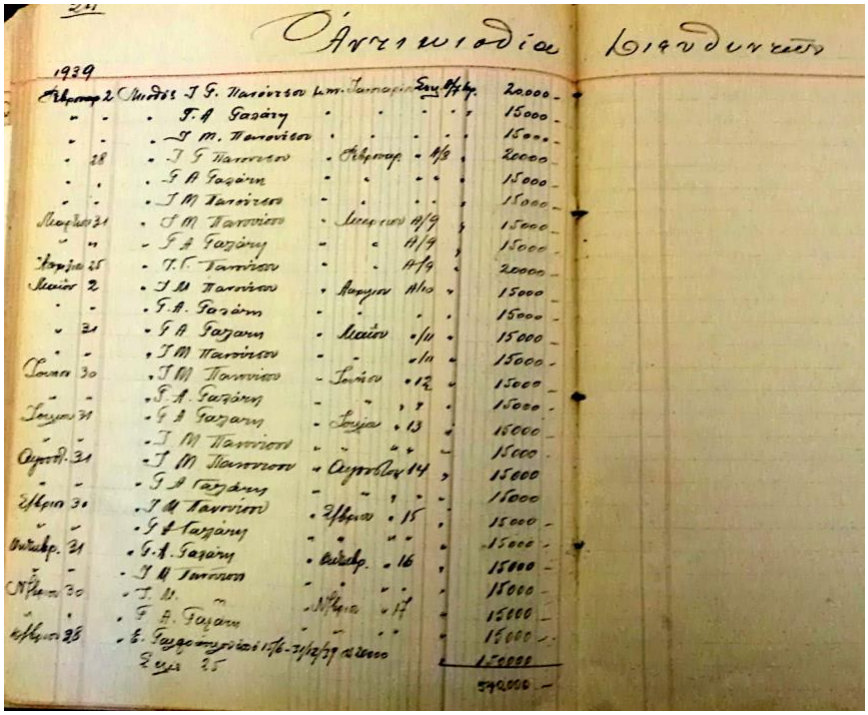


Figure 9: The remuneration of the directors (Private Allatini Mills File, 1939)

Apart from the Allatini Mills itself, the significant role of the industrial and commercial world in Thessaloniki also appeared in other aspects of the city. One example was the political scene of the city, as the elected mayor in 1926 was a trader (Nikolaos Manos) and his consultants, who also had a corresponding profession (Adam-Beleni et al, 2001). Also, during the second worldwide crisis of 1929, most of the recovery methods employed by the Greek State were based on altering its import policies. These policies were mainly focused on strengthening the domestic production, aiming at its self-sufficiency (Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation, 1989). Therefore, it is observed that in times of crisis, great emphasis is placed on what can a city produce and creating a favourable environment to promote it in, while the local community shows their trust to the business world revealing how valuable the role of a businessman can be for the city's development.

When the phenomenon of deindustrialisation expanded throughout Europe, the Allatini Mills were not affected, since the profitability of the industry was

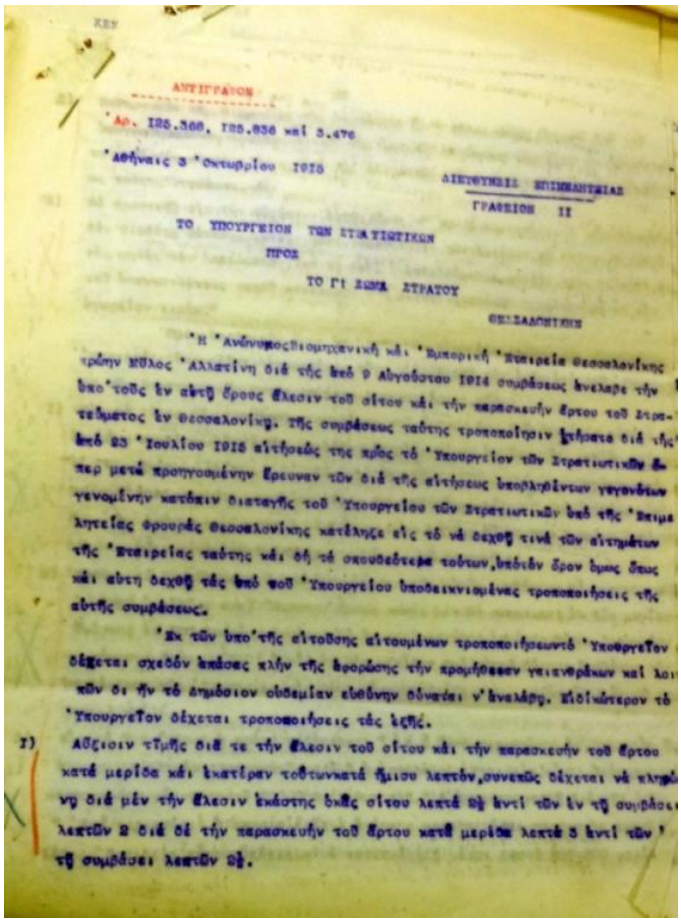
maintained. The conservative economic policy pursued by the shareholders led to the creation of reserves and a gradual increase in the amount of capital. The information that emerged through the pages of the *Sales and Deliveries Statutes* (1939) reveals that the clientele grew even more and reached 5,000 professionals and individuals, part of which were cooperatives and public institutions (such as the Municipal and Military Hospital of Thessaly). As a result, the city's productive capacity expansion heavily relied on the Allatini Mills. Through this way, the Allatini Mills ended up being both the greatest and largest mill in the Balkan region with more than 500 workers (Hekimoglou and Roupa, 2004).

Overall, from the analysis of the data on the economic role of the Allatini Mills, it became evident that this industry had a very strong economic identity that evolved over the years. It was inextricably linked to the city's historical events and its economic upgrading. Despite the wars and the global economic downturn, the industry's goal of staying modern and innovative had not changed until its operation stopped. It has also had a positive effect on the wider area, with residents still remembering those years even now. The Allatini Mills was the longest-running industry of Thessaloniki and their owners have brought a new era for the city by creating a mobility that is no longer manifest in the area around the Allatini Mills. Therefore, the Allatini Mills act as an economic urban reminder for the community of Thessaloniki. However, the economic contribution of this industry to the city was one of its aspects, since the archival records informs this study also about its social role, analysed in the next sub-section.

4.2.2 The social role of the Allatini Mills

The Allatini Mills was an industry with a strong social character where charitable activities took place and social institutions were created. The Allatini Mills' owners collaborated with the dominant forces of the time – such as the English troops – for the common good of both the city and the local community. The human resources of the Allatini Mills, along with its wider administrative structure, played a significant role in accomplishing these social activities. According to the *Contracts with the English and French Commissariats* (1920) record, the administration of the Allatini Mills agreed to construct new facilities within its own

premises for the production of flour and bread at its own expenses. The provision of services to the Greek Army and the Allied Troops (Figure 10) was noteworthy for the stability of Thessaloniki, as the Allatini Mills was the only industry that was serving them (Society for Macedonian Studies, 1957).This action had a social character as this industry ended up being the main bread feeder of the city and this function transformed the space of the industry into a meeting point for many local people. In particular, through the testimonies of the community of place, it is evident that this activity characterised the area and was imprinted in their memories. The function of the bakeries has given a particular identity to the industry and converted it into a memorable space, since “the whole area was smelling of freshly baked bread and I still have this smell engraved in my memory” (Interview R10, 2018). This function also contributed in the unity of the local community, because as R4 (2018) claims “a daily need brought us closer and we ended up getting to know each other personally”. As such, the Allatini Mills became an integral and imperative place for the city, as it socially contributed during the wartime period.



ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ

Ἀρ. 125.368, 125.836 καὶ 3.476

Ἀθῆναις 3 Ὀκτωβρίου 1917

ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΙΣ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΣ
ΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΝ ΙΙ

ΤΟ ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΩΝ
ΠΡΟΣ
ΤΟ Γ΄ ΣΩΜΑ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ
ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΝ

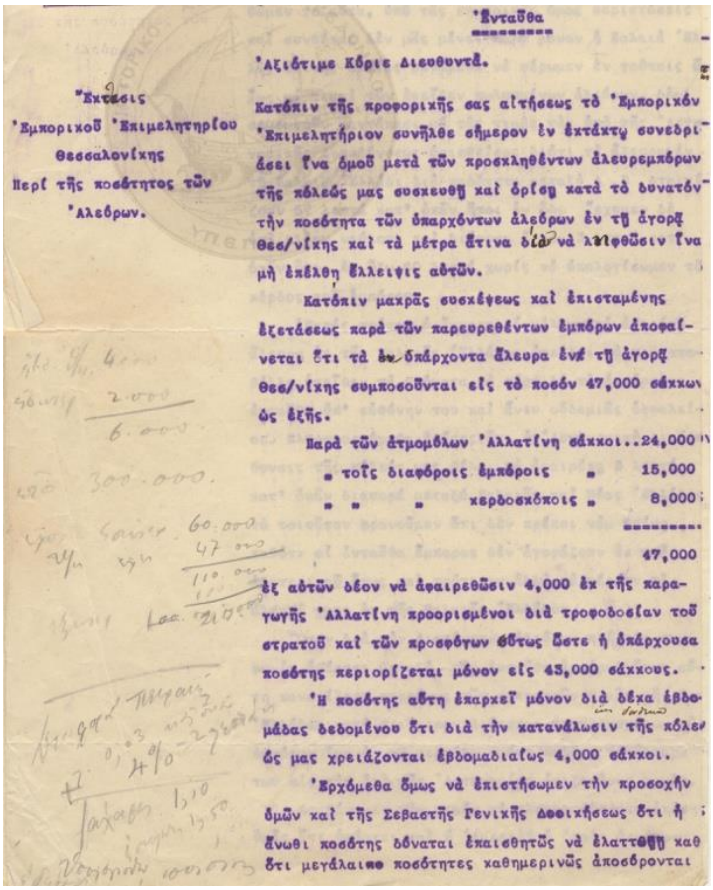
Ἡ Ἀνώνυμος Βιομηχανική καὶ Ἐμπορική Ἑταιρεία Θεσσαλονίκης τρόφιμον Μύλος Ἀλλατίνη διὰ τῆς ὑπὸ 9 Αὐγούστου 1914 συμβάσεως ἀνελάβε τὴν ὑπο΄τοῦς ἐν αὐτῇ ὅρους ἄλεσιν τοῦ σίτου καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἄρτου τοῦ στρατεύματος ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ. Τῆς συμβάσεως ταύτης τροποποίησιν ἐζήτησε διὰ τῆς ὑπὸ 23 Ἰουλίου 1916 αἰτήσεώς της πρὸς τὸ Ὑπουργεῖον τῶν Στρατιωτικῶν ἐπερ μετὰ προηγουμένην ἔρευναν τῶν διὰ τῆς αἰτήσεως ὑποβληθέντων γεγονότων γενομένην κατόπιν διαταγῆς τοῦ Ὑπουργείου τῶν Στρατιωτικῶν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑταιρείας ἀρουρᾶς Θεσσαλονίκης κατέληξε εἰς τὸ νὰ δεχθῇ τινὰ τῶν αἰτημάτων τῆς Ἑταιρείας ταύτης καὶ ὅτι τὸ σκοπιμώτερα τούτων, ἐκτὸς ἄρον ὅμως ὅπως καὶ αὕτη δεχθῇ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὑπουργείου ὑποδεικνυομένας τροποποιήσεις τῆς αὐτῆς συμβάσεως.

Ἐκ τῶν ὑπο΄τῆς αἰτούσης αἰτουμένων τροποποιήσεων τὸ Ὑπουργεῖον δέχεται σχεδὸν ἀπόσας πλὴν τῆς ἀρούρας τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν γεωγραφικῶν καὶ λοιπῶν ὅτι ἦν τὸ ἀνώτατον ὀλιγόμετρον εὐθύνην δύνασθαι ν' ἀναλάβῃ. Κυρίωτερον τὸ Ὑπουργεῖον δέχεται τροποποιήσεις τὰς ἑξῆς.

1) Αὔξησιν τιμῆς διὰ τε τὴν ἄλεσιν τοῦ σίτου καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ ἄρτου κατὰ μερίδα καὶ ἑκατόραν τοῦτο κατὰ ἥμισυ λεπτόν, συνεπῶς δέχεται νὰ πληρώνῃ διὰ μὲν τὴν ἄλεσιν ἑκάστης ὀκᾶς σίτου λεπτὰ 08 ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ συμβάσει λεπτῶν 2 διὰ δὲ τὴν παρασκευὴν τοῦ ἄρτου κατὰ μερίδα λεπτὰ 3 ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ συμβάσει λεπτῶν 08.

Figure 10: Contract with the Greek army (Private Allatini Mills File, 1917)

The social role of the Allatini Mills became more apparent during the relocation and resettlement of the refugees from Asia Minor in 1922. At the time, there was a refugee for every two prior city inhabitants (Hekimoglou and Roupa, 2004). This caused a food shortage and a subsequent feeding crisis because finding bread and flour in Thessaloniki was increasingly difficult due to the abrupt rise of its population. According to the *Concentration of Food Management for the Needs of the City* (1922), the Allatini Mills offered substantial donations of bread in order to alleviate the scarcity of food experienced by the refugees (Figure 11). The social role of the Allatini Mills is also evident in 1917, when a devastating fire in Thessaloniki caused the destruction of a large part of the city. In particular, there were 9,500 buildings destroyed and 70,000 people left homeless (Kolonas and Traganou-Deligiannh, 1989). Due to this unfortunate incident, the administration of the Allatini Mills decided to host and offer free bread to the fire victims (Historical Archive of Macedonia, 1917). The social work that the Allatini Mills achieved during these critical times was remarkable, because it played a catalytic role in the survival of the people living in and entering the city.



Ἐνταῦθα

Ἀξιότιμε Κύριε Διευθυντά.

Ἔκθεσις
Ἐμπορικοῦ Ἐπιμελητηρίου
Θεσσαλονίκης
Περί τῆς ποσότητος τῶν
Ἀλεύρων.

Κατόπιν τῆς προφορικῆς σας αἰτήσεως τὸ Ἐμπορικὸν Ἐπιμελητήριον συνῆλθε σήμερον ἐν ἐκτάκτῳ συνεδριάσει ἵνα ὁμοῦ μετὰ τῶν προσκληθέντων ἀλευρεμπόρων τῆς πόλεώς μας συσκεφθῇ καὶ ὁρίσῃ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τὴν ποσότητα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀλεύρων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Θεσ/νίκης καὶ τὰ μέτρα ἅτινα δέον νὰ ληφθῶσιν ἵνα μὴ ἐπέλθῃ ἔλλειψις αὐτῶν.

Κατόπιν μακρᾶς συσκέψεως καὶ ἐπισταμένης ἐξετάσεως παρὰ τῶν παρευρεθέντων ἐμπόρων ἀποφαίνεται ὅτι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἄλευρα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ Θεσ/νίκης συμποσοῦνται εἰς τὸ ποσὸν 47,000 σάκκων ὡς ἑξῆς.

Παρὰ τῶν ἀτμομύλων Ἀλλατίνη σάκκοι..24,000
" τοῖς διαφόροις ἐμπόροις " 15,000
" " " κερδοσκόποις " 8,000
47,000

ἐξ αὐτῶν δέον νὰ ἀφαιρεθῶσιν 4,000 ἐκ τῆς παραγωγῆς Ἀλλατίνη προορισμένοι διὰ τροφοδοσίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῶν προσφύγων ὥστε ὥστε ἡ ὑπάρχουσα ποσότης περιορίζεται μόνον εἰς 43,000 σάκκους.

Ἡ ποσότης αὕτη ἐπαρκεῖ μόνον διὰ δέκα ἑβδομάδας δεδομένου ὅτι διὰ τὴν κατανάλωσιν τῆς πόλεως μας χρειάζονται ἑβδομαδιαίως 4,000 σάκκοι.

Ἐρχόμεθα ὅμως νὰ ἐπιστήσωμεν τὴν προσοχὴν ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς Σεβαστῆς Γενικῆς Διοικήσεως ὅτι ἡ ἔνωθι ποσότης δύναται ἐπαισθητῶς νὰ ἐλαττωθῇ καθ ὅτι μεγάλαι ποσότητες καθημερινῶς ἀποσύρονται

Figure 11: Concentration of food for the needs of the city (Private Allatini Mills File, 1922)

It maintained a heavily humanitarian and social attitude to the issues of the time, which were aimed in enhancing the common good of the city. Notably, Rekanti (1986) argued that the Allatini Mills created a sophisticated profile through its social work that was further strengthened by its behaviour towards its workers and the actions of the workers. Both the *Payroll Statue* (1917-1926) and the *Payroll Statue* (1939-1940) records present the existence of thousands of workers of different ethnicities (Figure 12). They had all spent years by devoting a great part of their life to this industry, with all of them being experienced craftsmen who held the secrets of work with several important skills required for the operation of the Allatini Mills (Hekimoglou and Roupa, 2004). The administration of the Allatini Mills displayed sensitivity towards the devotion of its workers, as through the *Allatini's Work Report Sheet* (1914) it is evident that in times of heavy workload the workers' wages were increased and additional allowances and benefits were offered to its workers and their families, before they were even introduced by the Greek State (Cultural Technological Foundation of Greek Industrial Development Bank, 1998). In addition, the *Personal Details of Workers* (1897; 1935) record discusses that part of the workers' residences were within the courtyard of the industry, provided to them as a sign of good faith. Under the same terms, there was a consumer cooperative, a cook house, a canteen and a theatre within the Allatini Mills premises for the workers to use (Xatzigogas, 2000). Therefore, the administration of the Allatini Mills had exhibited sensitivity towards its human resources and through the above-mentioned actions tried to create a sense of unity for its workers.

This unity has also been reflected in the surrounding area of the Allatini Mills and is still been recalled nowadays by the older residents. More precisely, there is a group of the community of place that, once in a while, organise open conventions in a neighbourhood park opposite the Allatini Mills in order to talk about the problems of the *Depo* and find possible solutions. The gatherings that take place are informal, and their main aim is to sustain the notion of the neighbourhood as it was in the old times (Interview R5, 2018). The memory along with the identity of the area is revived even through the name of that group – *Depolites,* a name synthesised by the word *Depo* and *polites,* which means the citizens of the Depo area. The existence of social entities, such as this informal group, are contributing to the attachment with the area alongside the built-heritage and, thus, enhance

the common good of the community of place instead of pursuing unilateral interest.

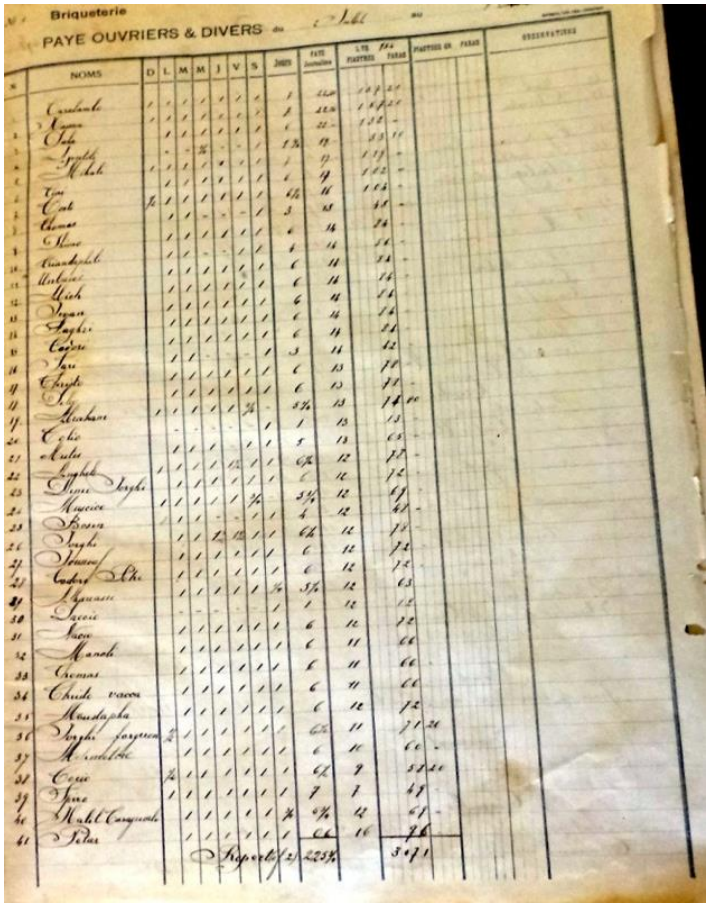


Figure 12: Payroll statue (Private Allatini Mills File, 1939-1940)

Apart from the efforts of the Allatini Mills' administration to improve the life of its workers, the Allatini Mills' workers also tried to promote their own rights by creating their own democratic structure. According to *Thessaloniki 1912-1940: Industry and Town* (1989) exhibition report, the workers of the Allatini Mills and the brickwork Allatini industry founded the *Worker Union of Ceramics and Allatini Mills* in 1919, which was a truly innovative action in that era. This union strengthened the workers' representation and their rights toward the control of the capital (Navarro, 2006). They were actively trying to set and contribute to the workers common good through their actions during the difficult conditions of the wart (Adam-Beleni, 2001). For example, on the occasion of a dead member, they provided financial support to the remaining family members and if a member ended up unemployed, they supported him/her towards finding a new job (Private Allatini Mills File, 1900). Therefore, Thessaloniki gave birth to the first socialist

ideals through the organised labour movement of the Allatini Mills and this unity of workers was also reflected once again to the neighbourhood.

Overall, the search for a social identity either through the Allatini Mills administration and its workers or from the neighbourhood per se was intense and this is why the Allatini Mills constitutes a landmark for the city. But, this is not the only aspect of the Mills that characterise it as a landmark because its architecture works as a palimpsest of time. In the next sub-section, there is an extent analysis of the architectural significance of the Allatini Mills accompanied by the reasons of protecting these buildings.

4.2.3 The architectural significance of the Allatini Mills

The Allatini Mills, when they started operating, had a different morphological appearance that is presented in Figure 13 However, this has totally changed due to a devastating fire occurring in 1898. After the fire, the Allatini brothers commissioned the Italian architect Vitaliano Poselli to design a new structure for the Allatini Mills which was “one of the largest industrial building in the Orient and Poselli’s most impressive work” (Tzonis and Rodi, 2013; Figure 14). The particular architect played a very important role for the architectural morphology of Thessaloniki, since he designed various emblematic buildings of the city with influences from the Italian and Jewish culture. According to the *Accounting Books* (1904), the value of the Allatini Mills’ building stock was estimated at 6.5 million gold francs. The Allatini Mills site consisted of the administration building (old residence), warehouses, refrigeration areas and the roller mill building, surrounded by the boiler room, the machine shop and the chimney of Belgian construction. Its buildings are eclectic examples of stylistic pluralism, where some exterior decoration on the façade of the buildings followed Eclecticism, Art-Nouveau and Art-Deco styles (Figure 15). Size and ornamentation became the signs of significance and affluence along with revealing the influence of the Italian architecture. The architectural significance of the Allatini Mills gave it another role besides the functional one. Whereas it served a productive economic role with a social dimension, its architecture became a symbol of prestige, wealth and prosperity with the passing of time. As Maria Rentenzi (2008, 66) points out,

industries of the early 20th century had both a “symbolic” and a “pragmatic” role. Most of the buildings of the Allatini Mills are made of reinforced concrete and bricks that point out the transition from traditional to modern architecture.

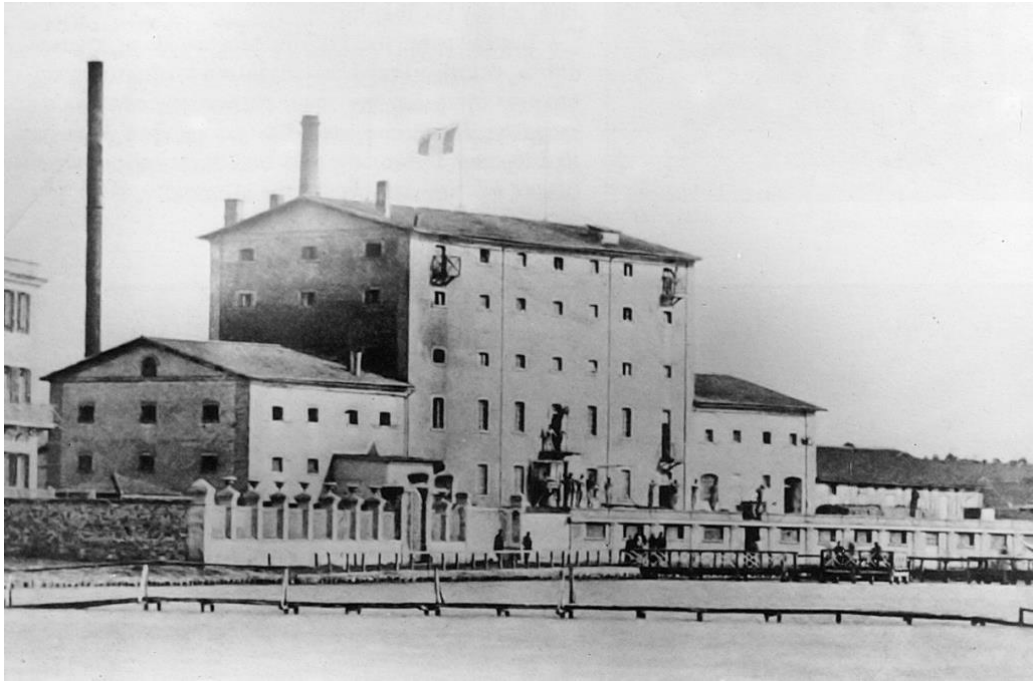


Figure 13: The first steamer of the Allatini Mills in 1889 (Dousi and Nomikos, 2001, 294)

Figure 14: The Allatini Mills designed by Vitaliano Poselli (Varela and Boutidou, 2000)

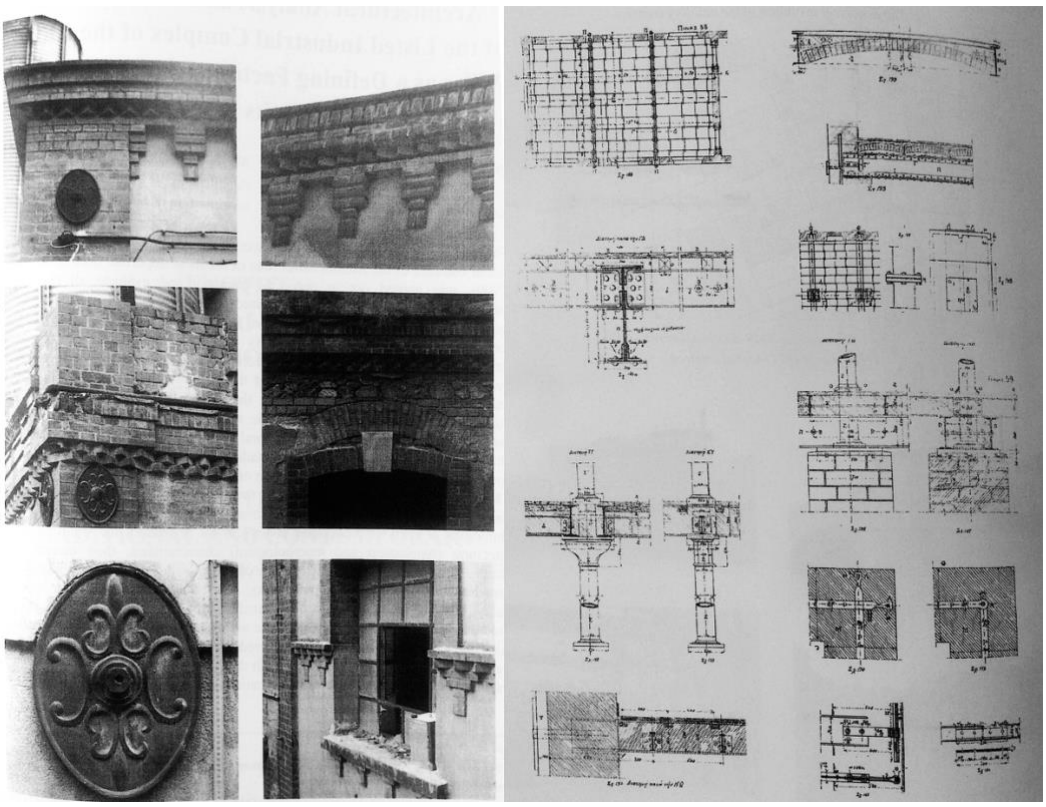


Figure 15: The Allatini Mills exterior decoration and building typology (Dousi and Nomikos, 2001, 296)

The technical equipment found after the end of its operation and the six-storey main building that stands today are due to modernised interventions of at that time. The new interventions helped the Allatini Mills' grinding capacity to increase and, as supported by the *Technology* (1992) magazine, this led to a threefold increase in production in 1930. As the testimonies of Hekimoglou and Roupa (2004) state:

> The layout of the machinery and the impeccable hygiene of the premises made the Allatini Mills one of the best industries in the Eastern Mediterranean region (2004, 376).

However, due to the various occasional fires that happened in the Allatini Mills, its peripheral buildings have been rebuilt in different chronological periods and as a result, there is an architectural discrepancy among the auxiliary buildings (mostly storage areas). In addition, when the Allatini Mills was under Greek ownership, the owners decided to build new embankments in order for the flour to be loaded and unloaded more quickly and thus the Allatini Mills lost its connection to the sea front. This intervention has integrated "a seaside industrial

site within the urban fabric of the city (Interview R8, 2018). But, unfortunately, due to the urbanisation of the Greek cities in the early 1950s along with the new *antiparochi* law, according to the architects Maria Dousi and Mixalis Nomikos (2007, 370), “there was not any attempt of a dialogue between the new peripheral buildings and the main Allatini Mills historical one” (Figure 16). This is also observed by the researcher during the fieldwork documentation, where the Allatini Mills and its surrounding area are not in an architectural agreement and, thusly, an architectural disconnection can be observed. This lack of architectural dynamic nowadays is perhaps what empowers the Allatini Mills, as an architectural landmark for the city, to stand out from the surrounding polykatoikies (Figure 17).

Figure 16: The Allatini Mills in 1960 (Greek Industrial Development Bank, 1989)

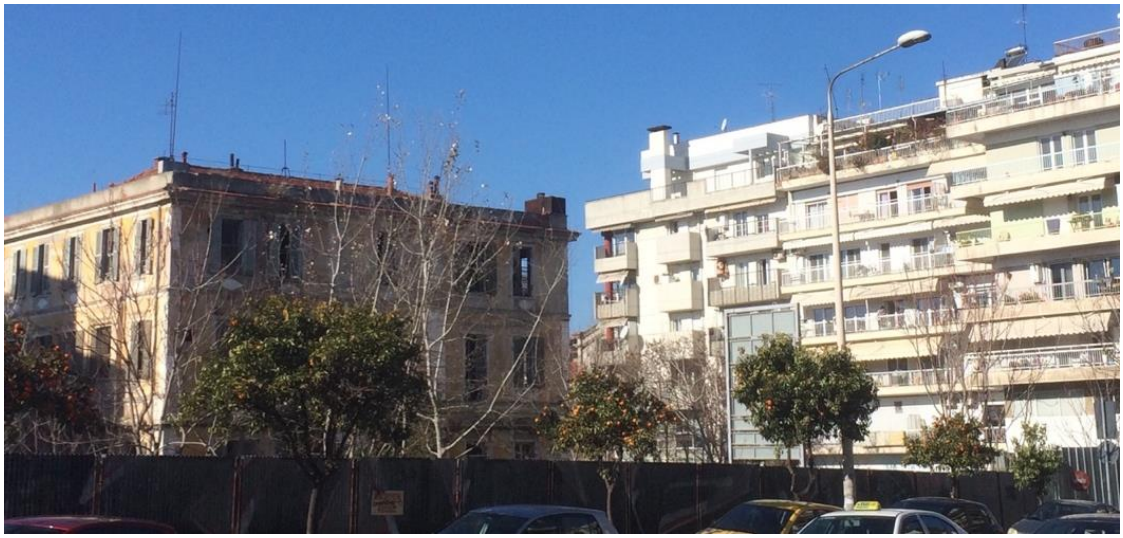


Figure 17: The Allatini Mills in relation to the neighbourhood buildings (author's own, 2018)

The current situation of the Allatini Mills is characterised by complete abandonment and dereliction, as the last year of its operation was in 1977. The visual retrospective as a result of the archival records and the researcher's fieldwork documentation – presented in Figure 18 – helps this study to highlight the different chronological phases of the main building. This visualisation makes evident that the near past of the built-heritage is almost the same to its present. Despite its dereliction, the present extent of the former industrial site shown in Figure 19, combined with its imposing form, create strong feelings to the community of place due to its imposing architectural identity. It is a place that stands out and, as R9 (2018) states, "by looking and observing the main building, the emotions that are created are the respect and the imperative need to maintain it".

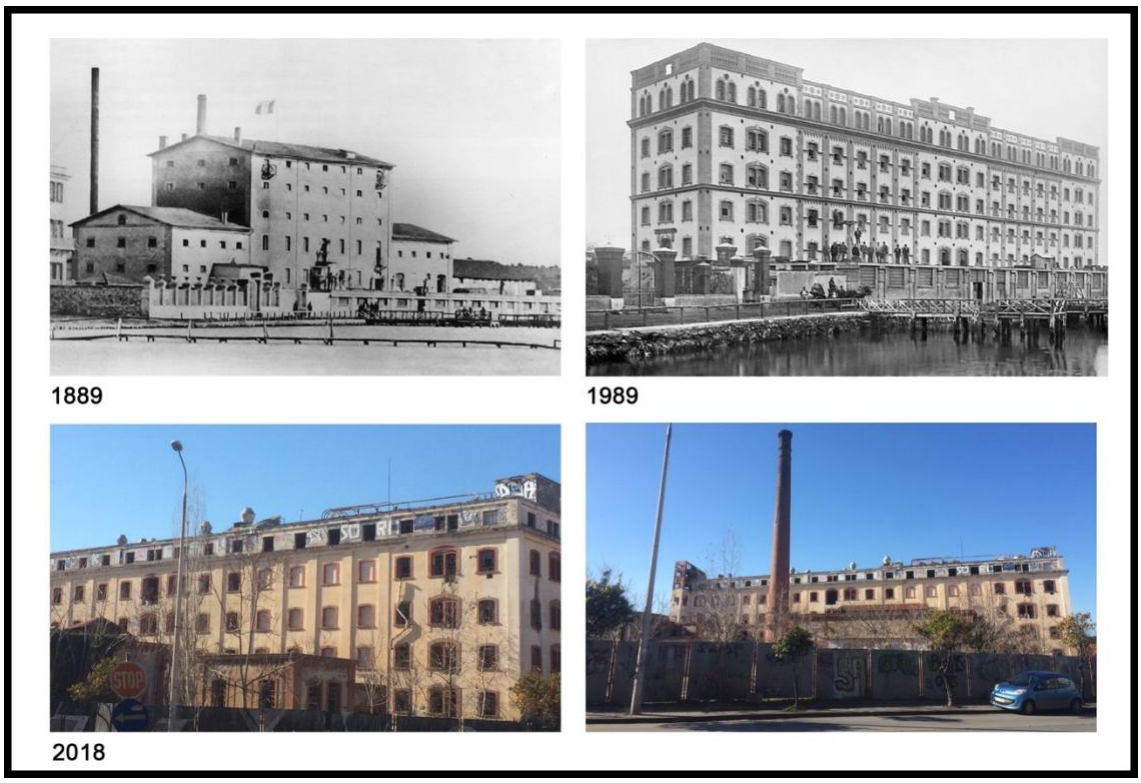


Figure 18: The architectural morphological state of the Allatini Mills during the time (author's own, 2018)

Figure 19: The present state of the Allatini Mills in relation to the city (author's own, 2017)

As elicited in the analysis, it is easily understood that the Allatini Mills was an integral part of the economic evolution of the city with a history of almost 150 years – and thus constitutes one of the city's valuable historical assets and with its regeneration being a unanimous demand of the local community of place. The Allatini Mills also adopted a strong social role for the city and its community by heavily contributing in the unity of the area and the creation of common good.

Both the innovation and the attachment with the collective memory that the Allatini Mills have brought to the area are valuable aspects that this study can rely on in order for the regeneration proposal to have the same dynamic appearance. By treating the Allatini Mills as a valuable cultural resource, as it still offers significance to the place it stands on and is crucial in the reconstruction of the past mutual bonds that existed in the community, the stories of the community of place will be revived alongside the attachment to the built-heritage. The next sub-section analyses the attempt that was made to regenerate the Allatini Mills ten years ago in order to understand the mistakes of the near past and to draw lessons for the present along with distilling a social system of learning practices, so that the regeneration of an important industrial heritage site can achieve its full potential, connecting to the place it has always belonged.

4.2.4 The community of place and the projection of nostalgia

This part of the analysis deals with the data gathered from the interviews carried out with ten local residents (community of place) who live around the Allatini Mills. This community consists of people who have either lived in the area around the Allatini Mills since they were born or have inherited the houses from their parents and continue to live in the same area. No matter the length of the experiences different people brings in one place though, they all contribute to the place's distinctiveness and continuity in time. In general, the area around Allatini used to be surrounded by detached houses which, during the 1960's, were demolished to make way for polykatoikies with the antiparochi law. However, the people who owned the detached houses were also the ones who took this decision of transformation and consequently were the ones that were and are still living in the area. This information was revealed through the interviews that had the focus on recalling people's memories as a main aim, as well as the understanding of their perception on the Allatini Mills' future by projecting their feelings, experiences and emotions linked to the place. Therefore, this part of the data analysis is concerned with the residue of nostalgia and the associated concepts of memory and identity.

The attitude of the community of place towards the research topic was really positive, as all of them want to see the regeneration of the former industrial complex in the near future and, therefore, they were eager to contribute to such a research. The difference in the nostalgia intensity displayed by individual residents was based on the years they lived in the area, as the older ones remember the Allatini Mills as an active industry while the newcomers have memories related to its present appearance. But, as Per Gustafson (2001) states, “no matter how mobile a person may be, some form of attachment to places is always present in our life and enforces the social memory” (Gustafson, 2001, 668). Whatever different people live or experience one place, they all contribute to the place’s distinctiveness and continuity in time. These interviews were really useful to further understand the way that the newer inhabitants relate themselves to the local industrial heritage (the Allatini Mills) on the one side, and the way the older ones experienced the place on the other.

The oldest inhabitants living around the Allatini Mills, and who lived their whole life in the same area, have a strong element of remembrance. More specifically, they relive the old years when the Allatini Mills was active and there was a large number of people, mainly professionals and troops, who visited the area for their professional obligations. R4 (2018) significantly states:

> It was so unique to see that a daily need brought you closer to the inhabitants of the area, through which we ended up getting to know each other personally (Interview R4, 2018).

The Allatini Mills, however, was not only significant for its production capacity but also for its location and the character of the wider area. The area where the Allatini Mills is located used to be called *Depo*, where the Mills at that time was located in front of the sea. The strong identity of both the Allatini Mills’ placement and the area itself is something that R8 (2018) – the oldest resident – remembers by declaring with nostalgia that:

> In the 2nd Gymnasium of "Alexandria", where I was a student was converted into a hospital in the 1940s. My classmates and I were assisting in this hospital wounded people of the war. They were really nice years,

> there was love and solidarity and we all knew each other from Depo until Karabournaki. During the summers we were going to swim in the sea in front of the Allatini Mills. These strong memories make me not to want to move to another neighbourhood of Thessaloniki (Interview R8, 2018).

The unity that existed in the area was so strong and engraved in locals' minds that is still been practically recalled by them nowadays. There is a group of older residents that, once in a while, organises open conventions in a neighbourhood park opposite the Allatini Mills in order to talk about the problems of the *Depo* and find possible solutions. These gatherings are informal, and their main aim is to sustain the notion of the neighbourhood as it used to be in the past years. The willingness to revive the old identity is even evident through the name of that group – *Depolites,* a name synthesised by the word *Depo* (the previous name of the area) and *polites* (citizens). The existence of social entities, such as this informal group, are increasingly contributing to the maintenance of memories. R5 (2018), who is a member of this group, speaks of how strongly they are concerned with the abandonment of the Mills as it loses its old glory day by day. She claimed that:

> The Allatini Mills is a landmark for the city, it is such a large space that was so embedded in our life back in the old times as it carried out social work by hosting the city's fire victims and feeding the Greek army. All the members of our group want to see this space be revitalised and become a space where we can gather (Interview R5, 2018).

Even for the younger members of the community of place that have not experienced the Allatini as an active industry themselves, they recall the stories told from their parents. R1 (2018), one of the younger inhabitants, remembers the words of her mother who was characteristically saying:

> We all knew each other, and we were beloved as we were sharing both days of joy and sorrow. When someone died, the whole neighbourhood was mourning (Interview R1, 2018).

Both the area where the Allatini Mills is located and the former industry per se were part of the people's life either as an industrial complex where they were buying their bread or as a significant place where economic activities were taking place, with the Allatini family giving the impression that their ultimate goal was to offer to the community.

Another interesting aspect of the area, which the Allatini family contributed heavily towards – and the community of place evokes with nostalgia – was its wealthy ambience. There were many shops that catered to the residents' needs, such as a grocery store, a butcher shop, a cook house, a barber shop, a dairy shop and public baths. R5 (2018) recollects:

> It was not a coincidence that people from other districts were taking the tram towards Depo for a walk or for leisure, as the area was famous for the rose gardens located in the manor houses. One of them was the Allatini family's home…the majority of the manor houses were one or two floors high, corresponding to their wealthy inhabitants and had a strong Jewish element (Interview R5, 2018).

The area of the manor houses was called *The District of the Countryside* (Figure 20) with the Allatini Mills being a strong part of it, as the manor houses were extending until the Mills' premises. However, the manor houses were not the only thing that made it a busy and lively district, as the Mills occupied many workers. Most of the interviewees remember or historically know about the big number of workers which comes in contrast with the current situation, where the absolute wilderness dominates. As R8 (2018) confirms:

> The Allatini Mills was the largest in the East, which occupied 200 workers and had a daily production of 100 tonnes of flour. It was one of the most important economic productive units in the city (Interview R8, 2018).

Therefore, it is evident that the Allatini Mills was connected with the lives of the community of place, either as a strong economic industrial site or as an important place where social activities were taking place. This strong socio-economic identity has been reflected in the city and this is why the Allatini Mills constitutes

a landmark for the particular community (Interview R1, 2018; Interview R2, 2018; Interview R9, 2018; Interview R6, 2018).

Figure 20: The district of the countryside (Kolonas, 2016)

In terms of the historical data that the community of place is aware of are related mostly with the industry's type of production, the architect's name that reconstructed it in 1898 and its correlation to the army. However, from the archival analysis it is obvious that the Allatini Mills have a bigger and more important history to demonstrate. Therefore, there is a big knowledge gap of the Allatini Mills' old profile along with its historical account, which is where the present research sheds light and fills the gap. Although the newcomers have poor knowledge of historical data due to their age, the significant architectural identity of the Mills' buildings is greatly admired by them. R9 (2018) stated "by looking at the buildings of the Allatini Mills, the feelings that I have are respect and the imperative need of its preservation" (Interview R9, 2018). The imposing morphological state of the Allatini Mills create strong feelings to the community of place as it is still a place that stands out from numerous buildings without a particular architectural identity – in contrast to the Allatini Mills.

Apart from remembering, there is also a sense of forgetting majorly associated with the recent events that happened inside one of the Allatini Mills' buildings.

The particular unfortunate event was the death of a young girl, which occurred five years ago and caused strong reactions from the community of place who demanded that the present owners are attributed with the responsibility of the event and finding ways to safeguard their safety. R6 (2018) expressed her concerns by saying that:

> This bad incident has made us want the regeneration of the Allatini Mills site even more. All residents want to see this monument, which was part of the city's economic life, be revived and not cause any further unfortune incidents (Interview R6, 2018).

The researcher has also witnessed that the buildings of the Allatini Mills are in a bad condition and there is great fear of accidents through the architectural documentation. Even through there is a tall fence around the former site, it can be easily trespassed, and more unfortunate events could occur. The latest incident combined with the profound state of dereliction, led all the members of the community of place to discuss about the future of the Allatini Mills and the impact it would have on their neighbourhood. The old identity of the place contradicts the current one, because as R4 (2018) argues “there is absolute desolation today” and, apart from its building presence, there is nothing else to remind them of the magnitude of the past. As it was also reflected by the memories of R3 (2018):

> The Allatini Mills was a pioneering industrial site of great importance to the city and it is a pity to be omitted, destroyed and cause problems in the area. As we are part of this area, we are concerned and want to see the renewal of this strong identity with a function that meets today's needs. (Interview R3, 2018).

In conclusion, the memories displayed by the local community show a strong nostalgia for the neighbourhood’s past around the former industry, as well as the industry itself that leads to the formation of a unique identity. However, this identity is in stagnation that instigates a sense of forgetting, reinforced by the recent unpleasant events caused by the state of dereliction. The community of place projects a great interest on the Allatini Mills and its regeneration because it

is an empty space can bring back some important elements of the past that by using it again, such as unity or public functions and serve as a reference point for their daily life.

4.3 Conclusions

In this chapter, the in-depth analysis of the case of the Allatini Mills during different chronological periods has drawn a holistic picture of its significance as a monument. This analysis has revealed its close attachment to the history and evolution of the city as well as to the community of place. The stories assigned to the Allatini Mills are important not only for understanding the past but also for shaping the collective memory of the present. It is evident that the Allatini Mills constitutes part of the social, cultural and economic identity of the city, while this multifaceted capacity makes its preservation significant for the present and future generations.

The recollection of memories for the Allatini Mills has been done both by referential and by experiential methods. Based on this chapter's analysis, a caring behaviour for the history and the past is still present in the community of place, advanced by their strong personal and communal associations with the Allatini Mills; a behaviour vital for its safeguarding and enhancement. This finding leads this research to support that it is all about being an active actor in the recollection and preservation of memories and not solely be a recipient through static monuments. Therefore, there is a need to respect the memories and nostalgia that the community of place projects towards this place and preserve this intangible identity. The Allatini Mills functions as metaphoric trope and reminds Thessaloniki's community of place of the relation between the city and its past activities and events, as well as indicates the imperative need to develop a relationship with the present situation. The Allatini family and the Mills were considered revolutionary, so by attributing a use with similar characteristics to the former industry will restore its old dynamic again. Before proceeding to the analysis of a potential use for this place, the next chapter includes a detailed analysis of the complexities that were introduced to the Allatini Mills after its closure as an industry.

Chapter 5. Analysis of the complexities introduced to the Allatini Mills after the closure: The problems, the difficulties and the options

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses and discusses the complexities introduced to the site when the Mill closed: the problems in reaching an agreement for its future; who the key decision-makers have been; what options have been proposed and by whom; how the site was caught up in the economic crisis and what the difficulties of a derelict site in Thessaloniki are. In this chapter, the concept of community of action and the community of the place play a key role in analysing their individual perspective in conjunction with their relationship in order to understand the prospects of overcoming the existing challenges in the future. This topic of discussion refers to the second topic of inquiry of the thesis. An important part of the complexity analysis is done through the breakdown of the regeneration attempt that took place in the recent past that sheds light on the impact such a decision had on the dominant communities. Therefore, this chapter aims to understanding the lessons that can be learned from the recent past and, consequently, this study to be able to project the future provisions to be taken in response to the main research question. As Geoff A. Wilson (2012, 80) contends, “learnings from the mistakes of the past can work for a community as a pathway to build upon”. For this analysis, the researcher has used archival and semi-structured data that worked both as an identifier of the events and of the economic, social and cultural environment within which the Allatini Mills is situated in order to lead this research in a learning and adjustment phase.

5.2 From a path towards the regeneration to the end state of dereliction

This chapter starts by bringing together the facts and analysing the regeneration attempt that took place in the Allatini Mills’ near past, since it was the first action after the industry’s closure. The analysis focus on the power and interest relationships developed within the community of place and community of action as well as on the mindset dominant at that time in relation to the preservation of

the industrial heritage. In particular, a multi-faceted case was developed around this attempt that intended to convert the particular heritage site into a luxury housing complex. This attempt started during the 1980s and lasted until 2008, where a series of actions that took place during and after the attempt has led to the abandonment of the Allatini Mills. Such exploration is vital for identifying part of the issues and challenges that need to be addressed for the Allatini Mills' future exploitation as well as evaluate the prospects of bypassing them. This desire has been born to the researcher because, on the one side, the Allatini Mills belongs to its legal private owners, but on the other side its preservation is vital for the safeguarding of the cultural heritage of Thessaloniki. The next part of this analysis is related with the period between 2008 and today, where urbex introduced within the Allatini Mills premises by local young people. Followed by the intervention of the owners who stopped such activities and left the place completely abandoned and hardly accessed by causing strong reactions from the neighbourhood.

5.2.1 Heritage significance as driver to designation: What matters and for whom?

In all the states of the advanced world, the phenomenon of deindustrialisation appeared gradually after 1950 due to the change of their productive systems. The result was the abandonment and dereliction of large industrial units, which were mostly located inside city centres. The most common associated problem of this phenomenon is the way of managing and exploiting the building stock of abandoned former industries and transforming them from dead and degraded sites to a source of productive activities. One of the basic ways to protect them is by addressing their status as heritage, as these sites were evidence of the economic life of a city or/and country and carrying for both their tangible and intangible aspects (Stratton, 2000). Focusing on Greece and the protection of its industrial heritage, its monumental heritage that "objectifies the past" (Hamilakis, 2007, 101) is legally protected by the Greek state consisting of the Ministry of Culture and local institutions. In Thessaloniki, this local institution is the *4th Ephorate of Newer Monuments* and is the privileged authority over decisions on the management of newer monuments dating back to 1830 onwards. Thus, in essence, the state either undertakes or approves all action related to industrial

heritage through these local institutional branches, including its identification, assessment, intervention and exposure to protective and preservation measures (Fairclough et al, 2008).

Based on the above, it is interesting to analyse what happened in the case of the Allatini Mills along with understanding what matters and for whom, since its designation as heritage is one of the most basic ways to secure and preserve its existence. Discussions with the community of action and the analysis of the archival records from the local institution revealed that the designation of the Allatini Mills as part of industrial heritage was not an easy process. This designation not only laid in the hands of the institution, which is characterised by knowledge, skills and a strong sense of duty, but also in the hands of its owners who were driven by their own self-interest (Interview R10, 2018), making matters more complicated. The data of the study showed that the community of place was marked by a general feeling of disappointment and concern with regards to the protection of the Allatini Mills. As discussed, this was initially expressed during the first effort to designate the Allatini Mills as part of the industrial heritage that took place in 1984 but was unfortunately declared invalid under Ruling 3619/1987 of the Supreme Court on grounds of the signing body not being entitled to declare it as such (Interview Consultant, 2018). In face of this radical decision and coupled by the fact that many historic buildings were demolished during the same period, the community of place expressed views on a static situation that "[was] not going to change" (Interview R8, 2018; Interview R10, 2018; Interview R4, 2018). These views induced anger and negativism towards the Allatini Mills' owners, which is also confirmed in an article of a local newspaper titled *No More Demolitions* (1987). This publication mentions that:

> The Allatini Mills are in danger of being demolished since it was declassified as industrial heritage through legal findings presented by the owners, who have the obvious objectives of demolition and its subsequent reconstruction (Skampardonis, 1987, 15).

The concerns and suspicions of the community of place were mostly centred on previous rulings, where specifically, the Royal Decree issued in 1971 designated the surrounding area of the Allatini Mills as *communal green space* (κοινόχρηστος

χώρος πράσινου) (Interview Makridis Associates Architect, 2018). From a legal point of view, this meant that a new building couldn't be built on the surrounding premises of the former industry and, thus, the Allatini Mills' owners were not able to construct new buildings but had to instead utilise and exploit the existing historical ones. Notably, when a space is characterised as communal in Greece, this means that the public authorities can intervene and expropriate the land either by themselves or through a partnership between the public and private sector. Interestingly, it is observed that in the case of the Allatini Mills, there was no evidence of public authority presence or of performing any of the necessary actions – instead, its surrounding area remained under private management.

According to the collected archival records, these untypical and incomplete actions gradually led the academic community of Thessaloniki to be opposed to the rejection of the Allatini Mills as an industrial heritage. Thus, three years after the Supreme Court's decision, they organised an exhibition titled *Basic principles of the industry in Thessaloniki: 1870-1912,* in order to elevate the interest of the Greek State on the significance of the Allatini Mills. During this exhibition, it was reported that "the Allatini Mills is the oldest industrial complex in Thessaloniki and is one of the most important industrial heritage monuments" (Kolonas and Traganou-Deligiannh, 1987). Therefore, it appears that the community of place, expressed in this occasion by the local academic community, displayed a critical reflection to the unsustainable practices with an overall aim to change the situation through their collective contribution. This reflective process, according to Giddens (1991), is a step towards personal and communal transformations for a city.

Remarkably, this collective contribution got the attention of the *4th Ephorate of Newer Monuments*, which sent a letter to the Ministry of Culture to persuade them to intervene with relevant actions and protect the Allatini Mills from possible demolition. This letter enclosed part of the above-mentioned exhibition report along with a citation from the book titled *Architect Vitaliano Poselli: His work in Thessaloniki of the 19th century* (1980) referring to the historical significance of the Allatini Mills. From the latter citation, the local heritage institution expressively underlined the phrase mentioning that "the Allatini Mills is a complex of buildings, part of which retain their original remarkable architectural form" (Kolonas, 1980).

With the use of historical and academic data, this letter raised the awareness of the Ministry of Culture and proved the necessity to re-examine the classification of the Allatini Mills as a piece of industrial heritage worthy of protection and preservation. However, from the perspective of the Makridis Associates Architect (2018) – a member of the community of action – the local institution was manned by people who do not have the capacity to visualise and work on a long-term heritage development plan because they do not readily accept new interventions in the existing built-heritage. Such an argument highlights the different level of trust each community exhibited towards Thessaloniki's local public heritage bodies. However, the heterogeneity of views did not adversely affect the consensus results, as, in the case of the Allatini Mills, it had a positive effect leading to its being classified as a heritage. In particular, there was a subsequent act in 1991, where 14 buildings of the Allatini Mills were designated as listed – together with the immediate surrounding space (Interview Consultant, 2018). In particular, the Ministerial Decision (1991) stated that:

> We characterise [the Allatini Mills] as a historical monument, according to the provisions of Law 1469/1950, because it is the oldest surviving industrial complex in Thessaloniki (Ministerial Decision, 1991).

On this occasion, it appears that, firstly, the official designation of the Allatini Mills as heritage created friction among all involved communities, instead of building trust through communication and cooperation (Ostrom, 1990). Secondly, the Greek State, through its decisions, seemed to balance this by appeasing the rivalry between the community of action and the community of place. Last, the decision verified the significant identity of the Allatini Mills and confirmed the importance of preserving the former industrial site as a historical part of the city; a conclusion that the analysis in Section 5.2 independently reached. Notably, the words that were used by the Greek state were the following:

> The Allatini Mills is the first industrial site in Thessaloniki that has been linked to the historical physiognomy and the economic organisation of the city's society in the late 19th century (Ministerial Decision, 1991).

The same source also assessed the value and the significance of the existence of the Allatini Mills' buildings, suggesting that they are representative examples of eclecticism dating back to end of 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

Although the Ministerial Decision (1991) was communicated to the Allatini Mills' owners, according to R11 (2018) and R12 (2018), their resolute interest to limit the listed buildings and strengthen their own financial interests by constructing new buildings continued through various legal frameworks. The trust between the community of place and the community of action was severely affected, when the intentions of the owners became clear through their application for the grant of a new *permissible building ground rate* that, according to the project Consultant (2018), was "the Achilles heel of the project". The permissible building ground rate in Greece means that a building's owner is allowed by law to build a specific number of square meters in buildings, depending on the size of original plot; in this case, they were allowed to build more than the rest of the area could. The interplay between the built-heritage values and the Greek state was much more complex and multifaced, since they approved the application of the owners based on the *Policy Town Planning Statute* (1992), thereby abrogating the Royal Decree issued in 1971. The activities of the owners verified the suspicions of the local community, whose fear that the owners would not respect the historical building seemed to materialise in the fact that they pushed for a new permissible rate. As such, the greed exhibited alienated the community of place further, which adopted a similar stance from that point onwards, as will be seen later.

Indeed, the Makridis Associates Architect (2018) justified the right that the owners of the Allatini Mills acquired to construct new buildings within its 110,000 square meter as an act designed to create a holistic intervention on the built-heritage premises. However, the community of place supported that this was a purely profitable action (Interview R10, 2018; Interview R11, 2018; Interview R8, 2018) with an overall aim to fulfil the financial gain of the owners. In particular, the community of place accused the owners for political opportunism that acted against the public benefit. They expressed a long-standing mentality of clientelist relationships between the local governors and the Allatini Mills' owners and an exclusive focus on self-interest that had detrimental effects on heritage and

society. One of the major effects was expressed by the ANCA Antoniou and Kastro Architectural Office (2018) – the civil engineers of the project – who explained that this action spoiled the construction market:

> as suddenly there were many square meters that Allatini LTD was selling in the market […] this happened as the square meters of the Allatini Mills were more than the structurally permissible ones (Interview ANCA Antoniou and Kastro Architectural Office, 2018).

In particular, the permissible building ground rate in the neighbouring area of the Allatini Mills was 2.2% as opposed to the approved of 4.2% given to the Allatini Mills' owners, indicating a remarkable difference. This approval had as a main aim to "attract new investors in order to sell part of the approved square meters to them" (Interview ANCA Antoniou and Kastro Architectural Office, 2018).

Notably, the declassification of part of the Allatini Mills' buildings from listed (Ministerial Decision, 1992) at the same period of time created a perception that politicians disregard the community of place when exercising their power. This act reduced the scope of the original designation of the Allatini Mills as an industrial heritage and was highly opposed to the definition given by TICCIH in 2003. The rationale used for the declassification was based on the fact that some buildings were reconstructed in recent years and therefore could not be considered as listed buildings. In the aftermath of the aforementioned approval, the Allatini Mills' owners succeeded in selling part of their shares to the *Themeliodomi Construction Ltd* and to the *Omega Bank* and consequently, multiple owners were implicated in the Allatini Mills' exploitation. This fact, combined with all the aforementioned community of place beliefs against the Greek state and private ownership, cast a shadow of disempowerment to the citizens, visualised as a 'gap' between those that have the power to shape the future of the built-heritage and those affected by it. As such, this fact only added to the complexity of achieving a collaborative planning and the harmonious participation of the community of place.

A rather promising initiative taken by the Allatini Mills' owners, before the regeneration attempt, was to appoint two external consultants for the architectural

documentation of the former industrial site and its technical equipment in 1992 (Figure 21; Figure 22; Figure 23). This documentation aimed at “collecting, classifying and assessing the architectural features of the listed industrial complex” (Interview Consultant, 2018). The same person subsequently revealed that the owners were led to the particular initiative for two reasons:

> firstly, to know the permissible interventions to the Allatini Mills’ historic buildings and secondly to make sure that they could attract investors for its future regeneration (Interview Consultant, 2018).

Despite the reason that led to this documentation, the extracted data are still really valuable since they add to the historical significance of the Allatini Mills and, when compared to the fieldwork documentation of this study (Section 5.2.3), an imperative need to safeguard the Allatini Mills in the near future can be deduced – as the project Consultant pointed out:

> The Allatini Mills was the largest flour mill during the Ottoman Empire period in the Mediterranean region. It was and still is an emblematic and perhaps an ornament for the city, if you see the old pictures of the city, it is featured everywhere (Interview Consultant, 2018).

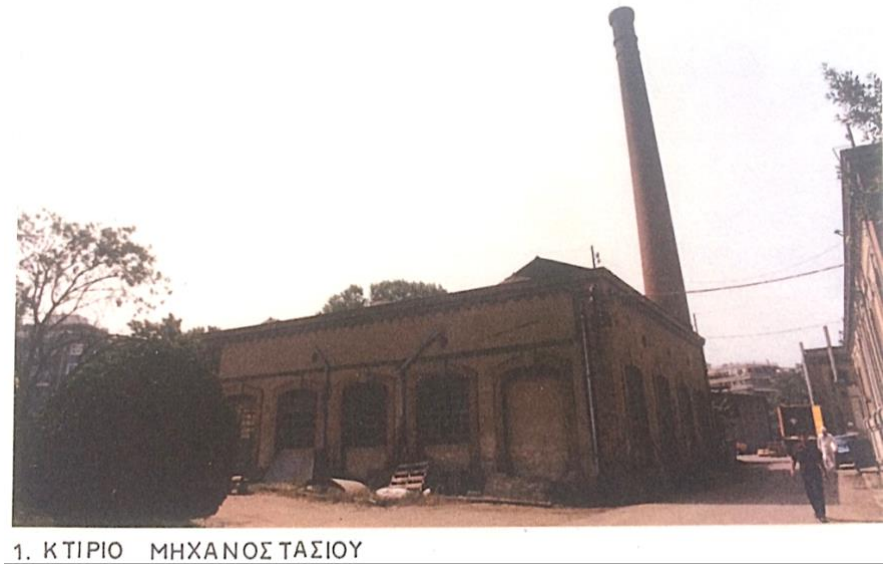


Figure 21: Engine room building (Directorate of Protection and Restoration of Modern and Contemporary Monuments, 1992)

Figure 22: Boiler room building (Directorate of Protection and Restoration of Modern and Contemporary Monuments, 1992)

Figure 23: Technical Equipment (Directorate of Protection and Restoration of Modern and Contemporary Monuments, 1992)

The above analysis showcases that the designation of the Allatini Mills as industrial heritage evolved through a controversial process. The owners adopted a very different profile compared to the ones of the distant past by reflecting only their pure economic intention, since they focused mostly on the exploitation of the Allatini Mills as an opportunity of a development project. The financial resources made heritage preservation the ultimate goal in its own right, overriding other dimensions such as communication and engagement with the broader community of place. The community of place's opinion appeared to oppose this

by focusing on the importance of the Allatini Mills being classified as a listed building due to their fear of otherwise significantly alienating its identity. The existing ideological divisions were instrumental in defining the form of the heritage planning process and by extension the ways through which the community of action and the community of place engaged at the time of the Allatini Mills regeneration attempt. More details will be given in the following sub-section that analyses the various views that led to the abandonment of the Allatini Mills.

5.2.2 Interplay between deliberation, conflict and outcomes of community of action and place

As is evident up to this point, this study is interested in proposing an alternative regeneration practice for Thessaloniki's industrial heritage. However, in order to achieve this, it is important to learn from the city's past regeneration practice efforts in detail and to understand the dynamics between the different communities involved. Such a case is the attempt of the Allatini Mills regeneration that started just after being classified as industrial heritage and the new permissible building ground rate was secured. Therefore, the analysis continues by investigating how personal preferences and the communities' profile made an impact on the attempt of the Allatini Mills regeneration.

The community of action for the regeneration of the Allatini Mills consisted of various people that were appointed by the owners. One of the most important actors was the Makridis Associates Architects office who was the lead architectural manager (located opposite the Allatini Mills) for the attempt. The privileged location of the office cultivated a special relationship with the project and sensitised the architect, as the office was established in 1980, and, since then, “our connection to and awareness of the Allatini Mills was strong enough to deeply appreciate our active engagement in such a project” (Interview Makridis Associates Architects, 2017). Another actor of the same community was the Alexandros N. Tombazis and Associates Architects, who can be described as a star architect office for Greece, since they have designed quite a lot of emblematic buildings of the country. The planned new uses proposed by the two assigned offices were to convert the Allatini Mills into a hotel, office-space or

residences, as they both clearly explained that their proposals were based on the owners' demand (Interview Makridis Associates Architects, 2017; Interview Alexandros N. Tombazis and Associates Architects, 2018). The magnitude of these two offices – along with the proposed use – confirm that the planning practice followed was of an architectural production type, since the drivers behind it were the site-specific characteristics and the production of an iconic-architecture (Oevermann and Mieg, 2015). It was clearly explained that:

> The ambition was for the former industrial complex to constitute a reference for Thessaloniki as an iconic new landmark for the city by combining both old and new architectural elements, since the new buildings' facades would be built in an architectural style similar to the old ones (Makridis Associates Architects, 2017).

This planning practice, however, ended up placing the Allatini Mills in the middle of a confrontation between the community of action and the community of place. This confrontation was prompted by the community of place's fear that any new intervention or construction would alter the strong identity of the Allatini Mills and adversely affect the surrounding area. As R12 (2018) explained:

> Our concerns were raised on whether the owners will take advantage of the new permissible ground rates to the maximum degree they can – and hence start building across the entire site (Interview R12, 2018).

These doubts were mostly based on whether the new intervention on the Allatini Mills site would aim to upgrade the area or gentrify it (Interview R4, 2018; Interview R5, 2018; Interview R11, 2018; Interview R12, 2018). Notably, at that period of time, the community of place was not aware of the new possible uses as proposed by the owners. These render this study's findings with regards to contributions and conflict particularly interesting, as the future that the community of place wanted for the Allatini Mills was very different from what the community of action wanted, although unbeknownst to either of them at the time. However, there appears to be a disparity in the community of place's position as, according to Alexandros N. Tombazis and Associates Architects (2018), the proposed use emerged "from a market survey the owners conducted in the area and according

to which, the most demanding use was the residential buildings". The explanation behind this inconsistency that this study can give is based on the implications of the Greek urbanisation, which, as it is reviewed in Chapter 2, held the construction of polykatoikies as the most popular use of real estate at the time.

It is also interesting to note that part of the community of action had expressed concerns on the viability of the project, as it was questionable whether the economic prosperity of the neighbourhood would successfully adopt the proposed use. More specifically, Alexandros N. Tombazis and Associates Architects (2018) made a comparison between the distant past neighbourhood's identity and economic prosperity in relation to current state by saying that:

> Back in time, when the Allatini Mills were operating, it used to be one of the wealthiest areas of the city. However, some decades later, this character has been alienated and the area ended up being quite mixed (Interview Alexandros N. Tombazis and Associates Architects, 2018).

Due to the different approaches adopted between the architects and the owners, the former based their design proposal solely on the owners' preferences "as the owners were looking for a use, which would bring them great financial benefit" (Interview Alexandros N. Tombazis and Associates Architects, 2018). The deciding moment proved to be the action by the owners to deforest the trees within the premises of the Allatini Mills, in order for the construction to begin. This action shook up the community of place, as the R12 (2018) stated that "the Allatini Mills site was one of the few examples where green space and trees existed". Therefore, despite the official complain of the community of place and the concerns expressed from some members of the community of action, the owners' aim overruled objections without leaving room for a collaborative decision-making process to be developed.

Although common decision-making was non-existent to that point, the reaction of the community of place to the actions taken made an impact on the community of action. In turn, the community of action organised an open public presentation inside the premises of the Allatini Mills, which intended to inform the neighbourhood for the Allatini Mills regeneration proposal though architectural

drawings (Interview ANCA Antoniou & Kastro Architectural Office, 2018). However, this event failed to bridge the distrust that the community of place had already expressed, because, as R11 (2018) supported “this event didn’t aim to have any form of interaction between us and the community of action – on the contrary, it had a purely informative character”. The informative character of the event was also confirmed from the members of the community of action (Interview Makridis Associates Architects, 2017; Interview Consultant, 2018), who supported that this was a good chance to present the prospects of the project to the neighbourhood. In the aftermath of this event and despite the effort, the community of place still considered the project as an isolated approach, which aimed at transforming the Allatini Mills for the sole benefit of the owners and, by extension, at eliminating their attachment with the built-heritage (Interview R11, 2018; Interview R12; 2018; Interview R10; 2018; Interview R5, 2018). As such, it is plausible to suggest that building a common ground between these two communities is not an easy process, but it can be successful by balancing both their powers in favour of commonly beneficial choices and reaching compromises from the start of any intervention. This was not achieved in this attempt however, as the community of action started the construction activities without properly informing the community of place, leading to a breach of trust between the two that could not be repaired even when recovery activities were performed.

Instead, the owners’ final decision to regenerate the Allatini Mills by converting it into luxury residential apartments with forms and uses directed at the financially-wealthy people only led to further tensions. This was reinforced by a controversial endorsement given through the *Approval of New Building Units in the Surrounding Area of the Listed Industrial Complex Allatini Mills* (2003) by the Greek state, which came after the one approving the new permissible building ground rate. This endorsement overruled the primary recognition of the Allatini Mills as a communal space and set new boundaries for the Allatini Mills’ surrounding area as well as approved the construction of eight new buildings and an underground parking space (Ministerial Decision, 2003), as shown in the corresponding topographic drawing showing the new (with blue colour) and the listed buildings (in grey) and the non-listed (with red marking), as presented in Figure 26. According to the testimonies of Makridis Associates Architects (2017) and the ANCA Antoniou and Kastro Architectural Office (2018), the decision of the owners

made the whole situation worse because the owners wanted to fully exploit the new permissible building grounds rate by constructing the new blocks of flats within the Allatini Mills' empty premises. When this was made public, the local community decided to take matters in their own hands and formally filed their objection to the Allatini Mills regeneration proposal through an appeal to the Supreme Administrative Court in 2003. This cemented the belief of the community of place that the owners' benefit came above all, causing all other values of the space to be marginalised or lost and suppressed any efforts other than an individualistic approach. The arguments of the community of place, as R12 (2018) describes, revolved around the fact that:

> An industrial heritage site must be reflected and protected in such a way that it is not altered from the new interventions, its new use does not shade the uniqueness of the building and does not crowd out the neighbouring buildings (Interview R12, 2018).

In their response, the community of action supported that the overarching goal was an upgrade of the area, envisioning the Allatini Mills to be converted to *Πολιτεία Αλλατίνη* (Allatini State) and the community of place would be integrated by the absence of barriers to allow them to access and cross the industrial heritage site (Press, 2003). The change of the name in itself serves as a testament to the further alienation of the industrial heritage from the community of place, as the area is known as the Allatini Mills since their inception – a name that has persisted through changes of countries or ownerships, as was seen in Section 5.2. It holds, therefore, a great deal of memory and its loss leads only to the further stripping of the original industrial character of the building away. Moreover, this study argues that such a grand scale intervention – as the name "State" suggests – within the urban fabric of an existing city is problematic, as these types of interventions are usually performed in areas that have been run down or exhibit minimal activity with the objective to invite more development around them. By comparison, the area around the Allatini Mills is very densely developed with mixed uses and does not warrant any more development; on the contrary, the most sought-after space in the area is green and open, not built (Interview R1, 2018; Interview R3, 2018; Interview R4, 2018; Interview R6, 2018; Interview R7, 2018).

The architectural proposal, as the owners envisioned it, is illustrated in Figure 24 and Figure 25, where the modernisation of the industrial heritage is clearly presented as well as the differentiation of the surrounding space – from an open to a structured space – with the new buildings being prevalent.

Figure 24: The architectural proposal for the Allatini Mills regeneration (Allatini Ltd et al, 2003)

Figure 25: Axonometric of the Allatini Mills regeneration proposal (Allatini Ltd et al, 2003)

The answer to this dispute came through a court ruling, which decreed that the Minister had failed to justify the necessity of the new buildings within the premises of the historical monument – especially since the legitimate reason for allowing an intervention was only to highlight the existing monument. This shows that the

power of the community of place was strong enough to suspend and then cancel the Ministerial Decision, making it a force to be reckoned with. According to the lawyer of the *Thessaloniki of Citizens and Ecology*:

> It was very difficult, from the owners' side, to overturn the latter decision as it was profound that the new high-rise buildings would sink one of the most significant monuments of Thessaloniki into a concrete spire through which their own financial interests would be fulfilled (Interview Lawyer, 2018).

Despite the problematic relationship between the community of action and the community of place, the owners persisted in their approach and did not consider the needs of the latter during the corrective phase the project transitioned into. Instead, they proceeded with a new regeneration proposal based to a large extent on the previous one, with insignificant changes. It is worth noting that through the data collected, it emerged that the architects of the project appeared to be more willing to collaborate with the community of place's ideas, as the Alexandros N. Tombazis and Associates Architects (2018) stated:

> We proposed to the owners to proceed with the complete removal of the new buildings so as to avoid blocking the view from the surrounding buildings as well as give more space to highlight the industrial heritage buildings (Interview Alexandros N. Tombazis and Associates Architects, 2018).

Although the architects maintained a different view, the strong demands of the owners prevailed and were enforced by the adoption of the new proposal – shown in Figure 27 – through a new Ministerial Decision. By comparing the two proposals it can be clearly observed that the new proposal with the old one have insignificant changes. As such, the moderate alterations of the approved decision is characterised by this study as marginal, since it was lacking any connection to the views that the community of place expressed as well as to the optimal appearance of the industrial heritage site.

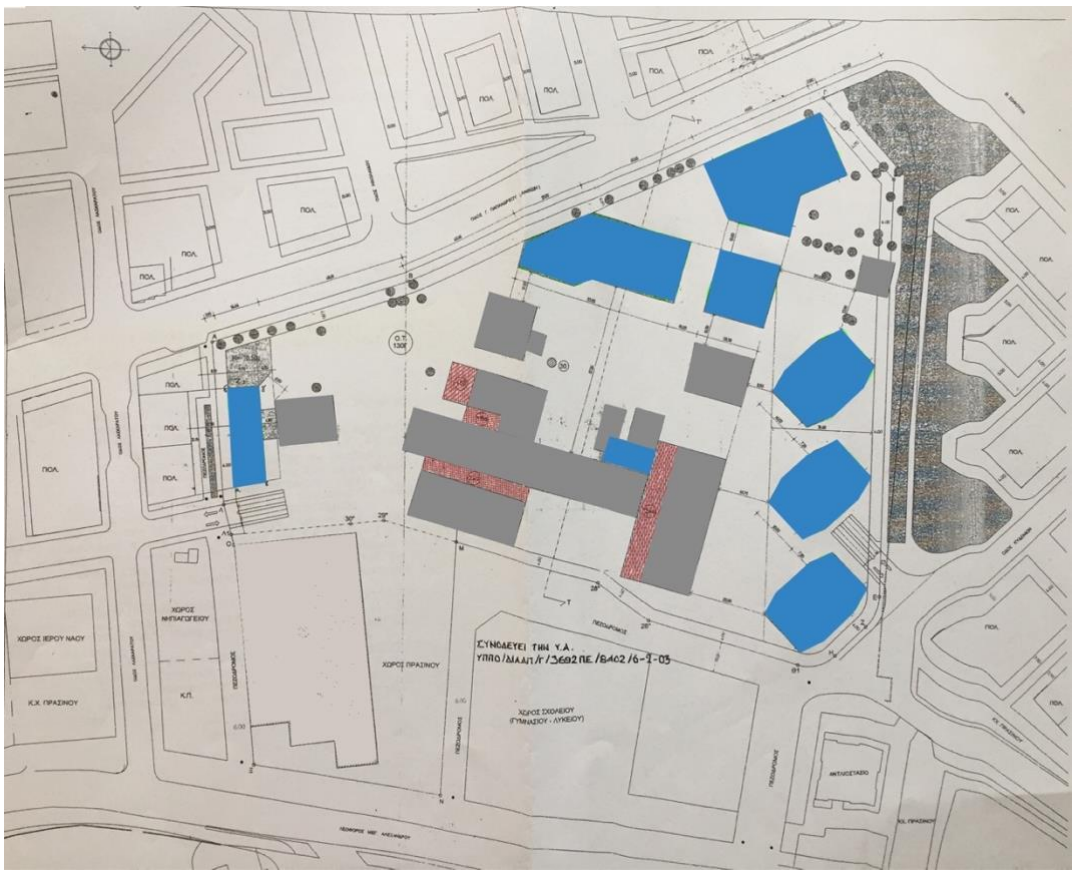


Figure 26: The first topographic drawing (Ministerial Decision, 2003)

Figure 27: The altered topographic drawing (Ministerial Decision, 2007)

After these developments, the petitions of the community of place for a more inclusive approach grew stronger and, as a result, they appealed the Ministerial decision anew. From the testimonies of R11 (2018), it appeared that their claims were based on the Greek International Charter for the Recognition and Protection of Industrial Heritage, which emphasises that “the safest way to preserve an industrial heritage is by preserving the public interest and the values that the heritage represents” (Interview R11, 2018).

After this appeal in 2008, the Council of State decided to stop any construction work immediately. The final decision on the Allatini Mills regeneration attempt was made in 2009 and was based on Article 24 of the Constitution. As the representative of the *Ecological Movement of Thessaloniki* (2018) mentioned, the Council of State decided that:

> The Allatini Mills site was part of an unregulated urbanisation according to the proposed urban planning drawings. This means that if the owners want to build new buildings within the Allatini Mills’ surrounding space in the future, they need the approval of the Minister of Culture, the approval of a new permissible building ground rate and a presidential decree (Interview Ecological Movement of Thessaloniki, 2018).

The latter proves that the power and voice of the community of place was greater than the economic benefits of the owners and, as a result, part of Thessaloniki’s history was rescued by avoiding its transformation under an individualistic attitude. Yet, this resulted in its desertion; a situation that remains up to today.

One could argue that, on the one side, the owners’ proposal would promote the use of the Allatini Mills instead of being abandoned – and therefore be saved from dereliction. But on the other hand, these buildings were designated as monuments by the Greek state, which means that they should be preserved in a way that keep the information, knowledge and memories of the distant past. It is important for the community of place to be able to access this place, evoke feelings regarding the distant past and, thusly, be attached to it. The proposed transformation, however, discarded the intangible aspects of the Allatini Mills, the compatibility of the new use and deteriorated the relationship between the

community of place and the built-heritage. Therefore, for the regeneration of the Allatini Mills and corresponding industrial heritage sites, the different individuals and groups, professional or not, should be identified and engage in a negotiation on the significance of each build-heritage in order to achieve a complete understanding of the subtleties of every case and develop a plan for the protection of the tangible and intangible attributes in which significance is embodied.

Lastly, the role of the municipality in the regeneration attempt of the Allatini Mills needs to be examined. Its absence can be noted throughout the duration of the conflict that developed between the community of place and the community of action – although the Allatini Mills covers a large part of land within its domain and consists of many buildings. The Makridis Associates Architects office approached the Municipality of Thessaloniki under their own initiative before the first proposal was finalised, in order to set up a public-private partnership. Unfortunately, the desired result was not achieved as the municipality stated that:

> We will grant the corresponding permission only if the owners grant us a building under our jurisdiction with a use that we will propose (Interview Makridis Associates Architects, 2017).

During the interview, the Makridis Associates Architects expressed great disappointment to the Municipality's reaction, as, from their point of view, this kind of behaviour reflects the attitude of the Greek public bodies in general, which tend to favour their own interests over the common one. According to the same interview, however, this attitude can be partly justified as the public bodies tend to have a great deal of doubt about privately owned projects due to the lack of trust that has developed over the years. As such, the local municipality was not willing at the time to be actively involved in the attempt without any direct benefit and thus, a communication channel failed to be established. On the contrary, the municipal *Ecological Movement of Thessaloniki* and the lawyer of the public organisation *Thessaloniki of Citizens and Ecology* were willing to help and support the community of place. This was an action that helped the community of place to gain greater power towards making their requests known and enforcing them. Consequently, there is a paradox that is quite political in nature,

as self-government distances itself from the private initiative while individual political groups show greater willingness to engage. According to this study, the unfortunate fact in this situation is that political beliefs and benefits may be greater than the rescue of our culture, history and identity.

Overall, the analysis of all the data above unveiled that the proposal for the Allatini Mills regeneration was aimed at the conversion of the former industrial site to a place for the few, by excluding the community of place and creating a new one. Apart from the preservation of the exterior facades of the listed buildings, there was no other connection with the identity of the distant past of the place while the stories of the community of place were missing. However, the most important aspect was the distrust and disappointment that this attempt brought to the area – although it strengthened the unity of the community of place at the same time, which was a powerful aspect of the distant past as analysed in the previous sub-section. As such, this study recognises the need for profitable private interventions, but through proposing new uses and additions that do not overshadow the historical fabric and exclude the local community, because in such cases the effect of both communities is to neutralise the I and not the We.

5.2.3 From expression to the creation of dissatisfaction and the effect of the economic crisis

Since the rejection of the regeneration attempt, the Allatini Mills were left at a delipidated state. The state of the buildings invited some activities that were not foreseen by the owners or the community of place; nonetheless, they are quite common in similar environments across Europe and the world. Those involved in these activities were mainly from the local young population of the city that seized the abandonment of the Allatini Mills as an opportunity of expression. One such activity was the urban exploration – also known as *urbex* – that revolves around visiting, exploring and documenting these abandoned urban places. According to the literature, urbex is the excitement of trespassing and the creation of narratives over the historic importance of the sites by explorers (Arboleda, 2016). Many explorers find the decay of uninhabited space profoundly beautiful, and some are also proficient freelance photographers who document what they see. More

specifically, in the case of the Allatini Mills, there was a documentation of its abandonment that performed by using photography or video. The evidence of such activities was collected through the testimonies of the community of place who argued that they have seen people going in and coming out from the former industry and holding cameras (Interview R9, 2018; Interview R5, 2018; Interview R7, 2018). In addition, the Allatini Mills served also as a magnet for graffiti and vandalisms, which were easy for the researcher to identify it due to the familiarisation to the buildings through the architectural documentation (Figure 28; Figure 29).

Apart from these more benign forms of damage, a reportage of the local press at the time identifies various scrap metal thefts, as well as the use of the premises to store items collected from garbage bins. On top of this, several fires have broken out within the different buildings, as they serve as a shelter for homeless people seeking protection from the elements during the winter. The researcher the mixed feelings that someone can get by observing the former industry, during the fieldwork documentation acknowledged because on the one side it seems that people have trespassed the place and took advantage of it but on the other there were people who found an opportunity for reflection between loss and creative interpretation.

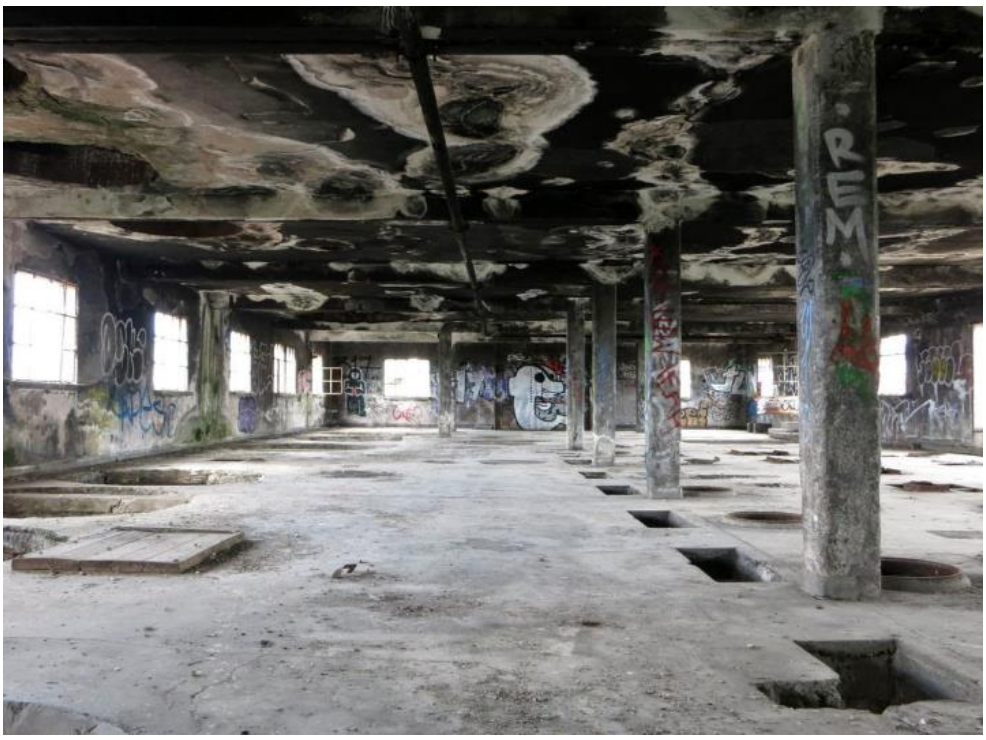


Figure 28: Evidence of graffiti within the Mills buildings (author's own, 2019)

Figure 29: The view from the rooftop and the signs of urbex (author's own, 2019)

The other use that the Allatini Mills saw was as an ad-hoc playground for young children in the area. The Allatini Mills is surrounded by schools and sport facilities, along with a high-density residential area. The children perceived the Allatini Mills as an adventure, inviting themselves in. As can be understood, this is not the safest environment for children to roam freely, and, unfortunately, two key events sparked outrage when, in 2014, a 13-year old boy and in 2015 a 15-year old girl fell through the old smoke stacks traversing the floors of the industrial site leading to their serious injury and death respectively. According to the testimonies of the community of place, there were strong reactions to these events (Interview R6, 2018; Interview R2, 2018, Interview R7, 2018; Interview R3, 2018) that caused negative emotions. This lead the community of place to unanimously demand responsibility to be assigned to the current owners, so that no such incidents can take place in the future. As R6 (2018) argues:

> This bad incident made us to want the regeneration of the Allatini Mills site even more. All residents want to see this monument, which was part of the city's economic life, revive and not cause other unfortune accidents (Interview R6, 2018).

These last events seem to have been a tipping point. At the request of the local community of place, the owners decided to build a high fence in order to limit and forbid access. The protective measures had as a consequence every type of previous activity to stop and the places of free expression to be minimised, because there was an unfortunate twist that caused major fears for the use of the Allatini Mills. However, the constitutes of the fence was not enough, as the local community still has its concerns and the urgent need to see the former industry come to life again is growing stronger. According to their testimonies, they want the Allatini Mills to acquire a social character and contribute to the betterment of the social life of the inhabitants – as it did for 150 years as an active industry. As R3 (2018) claims:

> The Allatini Mills was a pioneering place and is a pity for such a significant industrial complex to be omitted, destroyed and cause problems in the area. We want to see the renewal of the Allatini Mills' strong identity with a function of today (Interview R3, 2018).

Therefore, based on the evidences, it is understandable that the strong social, economic and architectural identity of the Allatini Mills cannot remain unchanged over time, as events in the present can corrupt and change it, and thus forget its significant past and replace it with a biased present. This fear is getting even bigger due to the economic crisis outbreak, with the abandonment of spaces identified as one of its influences, since a lot of businesses have been closed down and the corresponding spaces are now empty. The economic crisis creates new needs for the local population of Thessaloniki that will be examined in the next chapter and which can be used as a guide for the exploitation of this former building complex.

5.3 Conclusions

This chapter has analysed and extracted the lessons learned from the Allatini Mills after its closure as an industry. It is evident that the attempt to regenerate the Allatini Mills was mainly focused on the architectural significance of the place and alienated its social role, as it created a division between the community of action and place, where the latter managed to reverse the decisions of the former.

This contradictory relationship was so strong that it directly affected the decision-making procedures resulting in stopping the effort in the tracks. The chapter has demonstrated that in the question of whose heritage is preserved, by whom and for what purpose, the response varies depending on who answers as well as who is entitled to answer. From the side of the community of action and more precisely that of the owners, they wanted the proposed transformation to happen because it allowed them to fill a market gap in that time and, consequently, to achieve a higher surplus value. From the side of the community of place, they wanted to keep the Allatini Mills as a place that addresses their needs as well, and to be developed under a bottom-up procedure, rather than being only market-driven and profit-driven.

Given the present circumstances, this study argues that the Greek industrial heritage consists of monuments of the recent history of its cities and therefore deserves to be studied, understood and interpreted – hence remembered and celebrated for its values. Therefore, inclusion rather than exclusion might be the only way forward, while embracing and recognising the place's uniqueness, dynamic character and the existing needs of the area of the same time. This inclusion may have different appearances because, as is evident from this chapter, there is part of the local young population who were part of the Allatini Mills in the recent years through urbex and similar activities.

The following chapter is also part of the study's data analysis and examines the possible uses for the Allatini Mills by emphasising a lot on the community of interest, which consist of the creative spaces of Thessaloniki. These spaces are an aspect of the city that emerged during the economic crisis and due to its newness, constitutes a significant contribution to knowledge with the new data that emerged during its study.

Chapter 6. Analysis of the creative spaces as a possible use for the Allatini Mills

6.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses and reveals a possible use for the Allatini Mills by providing both the context of the area around the site and the option of regenerating it into a creative hub; a topic that reflects the third topic of inquiry of the thesis. This hub refers to the establishment of the various creative spaces of Thessaloniki within the Allatini Mills; an initiative that has been already followed by several European countries as it was revealed in Chapter 2. More specifically, the first part of this chapter examines the urban fabric of the surrounding area and the uses already developed in the area, along with the multitudinous character present. The data for this part of the analysis have been collected through the architectural documentation and are depicted on a map followed by a text. This analysis showcases the reason why regenerating the Allatini Mills into a creative hub is a viable option compared to the existing uses that fulfil the everyday needs of the community of place. The second part of this chapter sheds light on the characteristics and the role of the creative spaces that emerged in Thessaloniki after the outbreak of the economic crisis; the community of interest, which consists of the people who surround these creative spaces. It examines the reasons why part of the citizens of Thessaloniki turned their interest towards the creative sector and the importance of developing such creative spaces. The second part of the analysis is based on the data extracted from thirty-eight semi-structured interviews, which were conducted inside the creative spaces. This experience was invaluable because, during the interviews, some creators were working, some others producing, and others were selling their creative products.

Before moving on to the analysis, the thesis presents some preliminary common features for the community of interest in relation to the multiple identities its members adopt on a daily basis. This commonality is built around their dual role; the role of the creator, who is fully engaged in the creative process and of the administrator, with the responsibility to manage their space, organise and teach people though workshops/seminars, promote and sell their products. Another

commonality is that they act outside an organised framework with their dual role (creation, production and sales) taking place within one space. For the local community of the city, these spaces are visible as retail stores because they sell products. This has as a result their creative power to remain hidden but, at the same time, valuable and worthwhile for this research to be studied and analysed in the next sections.

6.2 The existing uses and deficiencies in the area around the Mills

Figure 30: An aerial view of the surrounding area of the Allatini Mills (Google earth, 2019)

The study area belongs to the Municipality of Thessaloniki and is located at a distance of about 5 kilometres east of the historic centre of the city. The Allatini Mills is bordered by Laskaratou, Georgiou Papandreou, Nestoros Typa and Maria Callas streets. These are main roads that lead to the west and south of Thessaloniki. In essence, this area connects the city with its east part and, consequently, is an artery with sufficient functional width that serves through-traffic in the direction of east-west. The area around the Allatini, as presented in Figure 30, is a very densely populated area with the typical polykatoikia being predominant, characterised by high building heights (6-9 floors). The principal functional use is residential units, supplemented by retail on the ground floor that coexist with uses such as service, education, administration, health and culture. In regard to the green spaces, they are quite limited, while there are some major pedestrian areas that function as open spaces. One such area is located opposite

the Allatini Mills – on the north side, the place where part of the community of place, or else called Depolites, gather in order to discuss the issues of the neighbourhood as analysed in Chapter 5. As a result, the social relations, especially for very young and elderly groups, become more and more weaker due to the of community spaces. In addition to the built space, another important element of the area is the waterfront which is located in front of the *Poseidonio* sports hall. The waterfront for Thessaloniki is one of the latest developments for the city that creates a new space between sea and land. However, this development stops shortly before the Allatini Mills and, as a result, the relationship between the former industry and the water is lost. As analysed in Chapter 4, this was an important relationship for the particular place since the eldest's of the community of place remembers their leisure days spent in the waterfront with nostalgia, making its absence striking.

6.2.1 From antiparochi to overcrowding with retail and leisure spaces

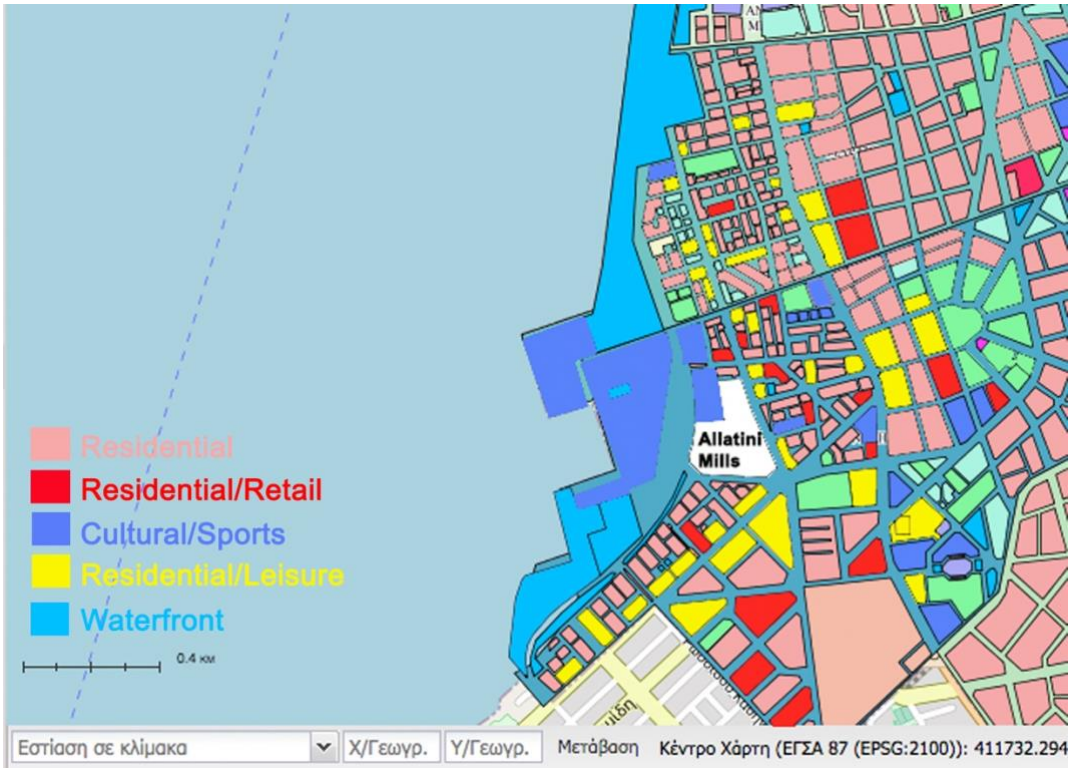


Figure 31: The map with the uses of the area around the Allatini Mills (author's own, 2020)

The residential area around the Mills is mainly comprised of housing complexes, with the polykatoikia being the major form these complexes take. They were mainly developed during the 1960's, when the antiparochi law took effect under the pretext of the modernisation of Thessaloniki. This fact, coupled with the strict seismic code all buildings need to comply to in Greece, led the polykatoikia to assume its most popular form expressed in bulky, multi-story structures exclusively built with concrete. An image of commercialised apartment houses of all shapes and sizes are provided. The popularity of this structure leads to the housing units adopting a very similar appearance, leading to the architectural morphology appearing bland, repetitive and plain – which is why the form of the Allatini Mills stands out in the area. Apartment ownership became the vehicle not only of urban development but also of urban assimilation. This type of housing mainly attracts people of the middle class, who are the core members of the community of place ever since it was originally developed when the Allatini Mills were operational. This comes in contrast to the suggested use of the regeneration attempt, which mainly targeted affluent and wealthy inhabitants that were foreign to the local community. As the neighbourhood is primarily characterised as middle class, the needs of the area are corresponding to their nature as will be seen subsequently and are oriented towards their daily routines and needs; should a wealthy customer base appear in the neighbourhood, it will alienate its character from its community of place.

Figure 32: The cultural uses around the Allatini Mills area (author's own, 2020)

In west side of the area and alongside the coastal front, there is the Concert Hall of Thessaloniki and the Nautical Club, while across the street is the Vafopoulion cultural centre; a centre that houses art exhibitions and theatrical plays but, due to the low visitation volume, is threatened with closure (Figure 32). As can be understood, the area is not a stranger to cultural spaces; however, the element of the local creation is distinctively absent. All the available spaces have scheduled cultural offerings, which do not facilitate open co-creation, preservation of the local techniques and ability for the local population to freely express; in essence, a meeting place for the community to meet and develop together.

Figure 33: Sport facilities around the Allatini Mills area (author's own, 2020)

There are multiple leisure activities in the area, as can be seen in Figure 33. There is a main Sports Hall, called Poseidonio, which includes multiple basketball courts, tennis courts and a swimming pool and is visited by locals of the immediate area, as well as visitors from adjacent neighbourhoods. This is one of the few big sports halls in Thessaloniki and is active throughout the day. On the east side of the Mills, there is also a local football club, "Alexander the Great", that is popular with the local youth.

Figure 34: The leisure uses located on the ground floor of the residential units around the Allatini Mills (author's own, 2020)

The streets along the sides of the Allatini Mills are also filled with a variety of cafés, restaurants and bars that cater a wide variety of everyday needs. The area is mainly organised around daily walks, shopping and visits to cafes or restaurants and all of these uses contributes to the creation of a sense of familiarity to its residents. The leisure uses are located on the ground floor of the residential units as presented in Figure 34, which makes them visible to residents and easily accessible. These spaces are owned by locals and not by big corporate brands and therefore their operation is important in order to maintain the employment of the area at sustainable levels. This aspect helps the area to maintain a sense of neighbourhood and, consequently, to keep alive in part the identity of the past that prevailed during the Allatini Mills period of operation, as analysed in Chapter 4. In addition to leisure uses, there are also several large supermarkets in the area that in turn help the area function properly. Therefore, the daily needs of the residents are already covered by the existing uses in a great extent.

Moving on, as was mentioned before, the waterfront is one of the major signature characteristics of Thessaloniki; however, it stops just shy of the Allatini Mills itself. Where the old docks for loading and unloading goods stood, there is only a barren field used as a parking space by the visitors to the area. This makes it hardly an inviting place for the people to go up to the sea and enjoy the waterfront, serving

as a mental blockage between the industrial heritage site and one of its key elements – its access to the sea.

Overall, the analysis of the area around the Allatini Mills makes it clear that it is a vibrant neighbourhood with active citizens; even looking at the map, however, reveals that the centre that connects all the surrounding areas remains derelict. Instead, it should be put to use by becoming the “life” centre of the neighbourhood, serving as the main point of people meeting, coming in contact with and remembering their intangible heritage and developing a common understanding as a community of place. Instead of bringing a use that is already met in the area and avoid losing its varied local character.

6.3 The emergent creative sector of Thessaloniki

As it is described in the introduction of this chapter, the researcher is focused on the creative spaces of Thessaloniki and the possible incubation of their activities within the Allatini Mills. This focus is also the subject of analysis of the particular section. This conclusion has been drawn after the extensive analysis of the area, where the non-existence of such use is perceivable. Also, the above analysis highlights that the area around the Allatini Mills has a strong local character and the existing uses contributes to the maintenance of it.

The present section of the chapter, firstly, identify, classify and define the creative spaces of Thessaloniki, secondly, demonstrate their shared values and creative displays and, thirdly, explore their influence on the city in terms of the local community. In detail, Sub-section 6.3.1 sets the framework for the analysis performed, by giving the definition of Thessaloniki’s creative spaces; a definition devised by the researcher to set the boundaries of the particular topic. The next Sub-section 6.3.2 examines the spaces where this creative sector is active in and analyse the dynamics they exhibit in terms of their social, economic and cultural contribution. It is then followed by sub-section 6.3.3, which includes an extensive analysis of the creative process and its outcome as part of Thessaloniki’s intangible identity.

6.3.1 The definition of the creative sector in Thessaloniki

The analysis begins by setting the context for the creative sector of Thessaloniki through a definition that is shaped in relation to Thessaloniki and its socio-economic context. This need emerges because, as it is reviewed in Chapter 2, there is no single definition for this research to adopt, while different notions or/and models have been followed by different countries or policy makers with different political, social and economic directions. This loosely defined environment resulted in highlighting different aspects of creativity depending on how this new sector is understandable. As such, the present study fills the gap between theory and practice for the case of Thessaloniki and focuses on a marginalised group of creative workers, whose work is sporadic, hidden and features multiple concurrent roles. This group of creators is under-represented in official data collections and its economic contribution is not widely acknowledged (Champion, 2010; Throsby, 2008).

In particular, the creative spaces of Thessaloniki are defined by the researcher as the spaces whose activities are based on their knowledge, skills and creativity, they are not solely market oriented as they produce unique products according to their and their client's identity, while retaining the role of the maker, seller, promoter and educator for their own craft products and both production and end-product is taking place in the same space. The definition given by this study fits in the existing economic crisis environment of Thessaloniki, revolves around the small local creative spaces, views creativity as an important – or as the dominant – productive input and does not take marketability as its sole objective. The main unifying element among the creators of these spaces is their focus on freely expressing their creative instincts with substantial and sustained choices about what to do, what to make and what to be. The type of sector each space is part of – entertainment, clothing etc – does not alter their role. This definition, along with the aforementioned characteristics, has been formulated on the evidence provided by the following analysis and facilitates the identification and comprehension of the creative workers of Thessaloniki.

It is interesting to note that the vast majority of the creative workers interviewed appeared to be ignorant of the concept of creative industries or the creative

economy, being oblivious to their characteristics. In particular, when asked whether they are familiar with these notions and whether they could reflect their philosophy, most of them responded negatively - reinforcing the image of a scattered group of creative workers that are not aware of the bigger picture. The reasons behind this unawareness vary, from the lack of an official state recognition to the absence of contact with people knowledgeable on the sector. Because, for example, after the researcher posed this question they showed genuine interest in learning more on the topic. An exception to this situation was Make (2018) that knew what the creative industries are and stressed the fact that:

> All creative workers should be aware or educated on the specific topic so that they can draw inspiration or ideas from their counterparts of other countries (Interview Make, 2018).

This unawareness highlights a big knowledge gap, as the sense of belonging and knowledge of the sector can serve as a great inspiration along with opening up new prospects for creators to develop their actions. Except of creating the definition on what Thessaloniki's creative spaces is for this study, it is worth expanding on the elements that were used to define it, which are analysed in the following sub-sections.

6.3.2 The social, cultural and economic contribution of the creative spaces of Thessaloniki

Many advanced economies nowadays recognise the creative economy as a leading sector in generating economic growth, employment and trade (Garcia, 2004; Miles, 2013; Comunian, 2011; Jelinčić and Vukić, 2014). The recognition came as the economic base of many cities shifted from manufacturing to service and knowledge-based industries (Evans, 2009; He and Gebhardt, 2014). In terms of Thessaloniki, both the existence of creative spaces and the spectrum of their contribution to the city are still largely unknown. The lack of visibility arises mainly from the fact that both the qualitative and quantitative monitoring of Thessaloniki's creative sector is deficient, as it is reviewed in Chapter 2. The focus of these particular creative spaces on the local level compounds on the issue, as they are

less exposed to global influences and are mainly active in the arts and crafts sector – and not industrial. The gathered data present the untraced portion of these spaces, where the spaces from whence they operate do not only contribute to the economic, but also to the social and cultural level of the city.

This contribution has been observed from the data that it is partially reflected through the typology of the creative business space that presents their identity and in the majority this typology appears to be similar. More specifically, these spaces can be characterised with multi-function divided into two main areas, which mostly is located on the ground floor in order to be visible to the public. The one area is where the production is taking place and the other area is for the sales. This typology helps the creators to promote their creativity outwards and to contribute by creating a visible creative identity in the city. As Dimmer Lightning (2018) stated:

> it is very attractive and productive on the part of the creator to get in touch with the clients as well as the clients to have a visual contact with the creative process (Interview Dimmer Lightning, 2018).

It appears that the typology of these spaces acts as an identifying factor of the business nature for the creators, because a creative business differs from other businesses whose products are mass-produced. These spaces bring customers or/and visitors closer to the creator as well as to the existence of Thessaloniki's creative sector, which in other circumstances "might not have been perceived and would have remained in oblivion" (Interview Wood for the Soul, 2018). Therefore, the typology of their spaces has a dual identity which is very important in promoting their creativity. Notably, the practicality of the space is secondary, as the most critical aspect for them is the unique experience that someone gets by entering the space. As the Mots (2018) pointed out, the choice of space is based on whether:

> there is a direct access to the working space, where someone can see how the products are produced (machinery, materials, sketches) or even see the creator during the production time (Interview Mots, 2018).

The feeling that is created within the creative spaces is unique and this state of creativity contributes to the culture of the city. The process of producing and maintaining such creativity is vivid and perceptible in these spaces, because they let someone to see how a creative product is made and at the same time someone can buy it. This feeling was captured by the researcher as well, since the interviews took place within the creative space, where the researcher felt the cultural uniqueness of the space when entering them and by only seeing the creators' working (Figure 35). As such, the dedication, the effort and the passion of these people are visible the moment someone enters their space, but it is also important to understand the nature of these spaces. The latter affirms Jenny's work (2018), who highlighted that "showing the process of a product being produced is part of what makes the product so special and unique". As a result, many clients/visitors become more aware of the effort needed to make a creative product, while others are interested in learning the story behind the creators.

However, the multifaction of these spaces has also some barriers, because, firstly, the complexity of the space confuses the clients/visitors sometimes as they cannot understand its uniqueness at first glance. But, as 2 Concept Stores (2018) said:

> The complexity of the space reflects the complex identity of Thessaloniki and this has the effect of creating a new unique experience that contributes to the development of the city's urban fabric (Interview 2 Concept Stores, 2018).

Second, the multifunctionality of space makes it difficult for creators to be fully committed to the creative process. Subsequently, the time and the way they manage it is very important in conjunction with their productivity.

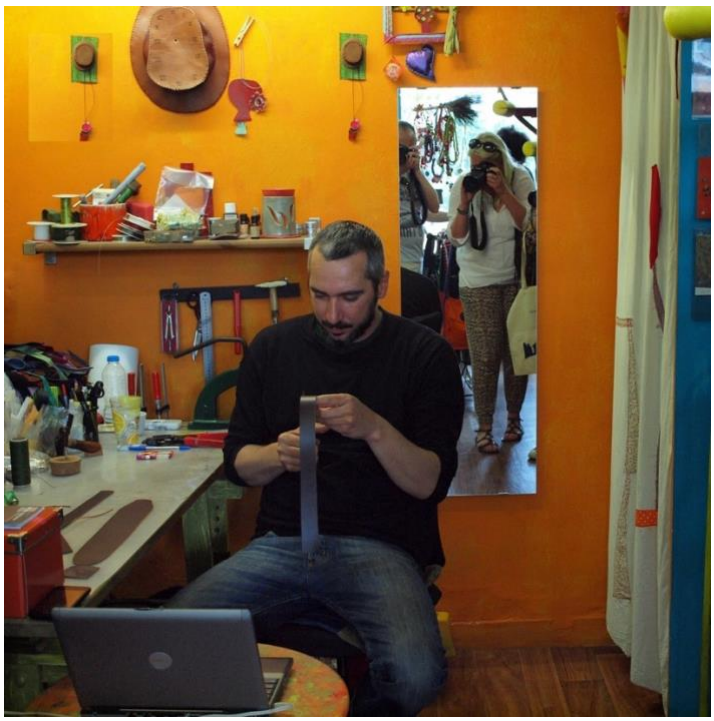


Figure 35: Creative worker during the creative process (author's own, 2018)

Moreover, the data revealed that the creators' decision on the location of their spaces is not only influenced by the typology of the space, but also by the identity of the greater area. They find really important to locate their spaces in non-central commercial axes of the city (Figure 36), because the central axes tend to be populated with commercialised businesses where mass produced products are sold. It is observed that this distance aims at preserving the distinctive features of the creative and unique production process as well as maintaining the distribution in frames due to limited production. As Ioannam (2018) explained:

> By keeping a distance from commercial areas, I do not feel any competition as what I am doing here has my personal character and this location helps me reflect on it (Interview Ioannam, 2018).

In addition, the way they manage the above-mentioned barriers is through the location, since these spaces cannot maintain a mass production operation and, as a result, cannot be placed next to a corresponding commercial production business. The central locations come in sharp contrast to the attitude of the creators who search locations that have a historical character or a sense of neighbourhood in order to keep their activity moderate. In line with this and according to Olga Kaleni (2018), Make (2018), Torokanidi (2018), Seiklo (2018),

there is part of the public who appreciates the non-central locations, because they primarily see their activities as a way of creation and experience rather than as a commercial outlet of their products and services. As Olga Kaleni (2018) declared “having a particular location gives another character to my products and offers greater awareness to the clients” (Interview Olga Kaleni, 2018). Therefore, both the typology and the location of the creative spaces contribute in shaping the cultural character of Thessaloniki, where the local community can perceive creativity by coming in contact with these spaces and, thus, through materials, time and space they become part of a newly developed cultural landscape.

Figure 36: The exterior of a creative business (author’s own, 2018)

What also emerged from the interviews is that part of the creators (Stereosis, 2018; Kirki, 2018; Bibliodeteio, 2018; 2 Concept Stores, 2018; Koumpi Coffee and Craft, 2018; Sxedia stin Poli, 2018; Seiklo, 2018; The Paint Box, 2018; Dot 2 dot, 2018; Make, 2018) shares their knowledge and creativity through workshops/seminars organised by themselves within the space (Figure 37). The main aim of these workshops/seminars is, firstly, to bring the local community closer to the notion of the creative process and to communicate what this space is about and, secondly, to promote their products. In terms of the first aim, this need arises because as Eleni Xasioti said, “I want to share with others the things that I know” (Interview Eleni Xasioti, 2018). But, also, because it is

incomprehensible to the general public the concept of the creative craftsman and the effort required to convert an idea into a product, thus the seminar gives them the opportunity to understand these elements. The second aim is a need that arises from the bilateral nature of the creative business, as promoting creativity is one important element but the need for selling is another one.

In some cases, these workshops result in the creation of a sense of society's belonging and, thus, the trust of the local community towards the creative business spaces is increased. In line with this, some of the creators (Make, 2018; Koumpi Coffe and Craft, 2018; Sxedia stin Poli, 2018; The Paint Box, 2018; Seiklo, 2018; Bibliodeteio, 2018) explained that due to the crisis – which are not only economic but also social and cultural – the organisation of workshops adds another layer to the city; a layer where all the participants become part of a common idea. As Marilena Simiti (2016) pointed out, an environment under economic crisis needs to develop societal solidarity through the local community's engagement. This is also confirmed by Make (2018), who stated that:

> Sharing the creative process brings Thessaloniki's local community a little bit closer to our reality and makes them feel part of a community that has a common goal – to turn their ideas into reality (Interview Make, 2018).

Another interesting point is that these workshops/seminars help in the formation of social cohesion as the culture of creativity is expressed, while positive relationships between people from different background in the creative business's workplace are developed. When someone is participating in their workshops/seminars, his/her level of creativity is heightened and as Seiklo (2018) identified "our seminars strengthen the social fabric of Thessaloniki's community as they provide the ground on which people can develop imaginative and creative solutions". This data draws on Yuen and Johnson (2017) and indicates that Thessaloniki's creative spaces partially act as *third spaces* by allowing the mixing and blending of different groups of people combined with social and educational development roles. When the creators open their production spaces to the public and the consumer turns into a creator, then the creative workers get a sense of

fulfilment because “a consumer creates their own content, gains access to creative content and co-creates with them” (Interview Bibliodeteio, 2018).

Figure 37: A seminar of the Koumpi Coffee and Craft within its creative business space (author’s own, 2018)

Furthermore, for the creative spaces organising seminars, it turns out that the multifunctional nature of their space (production, commercial and educational) allows them not to be afraid to keep their space open. However, this openness is not easily maintained as the part of the creative spaces that organise such workshops express their dissatisfaction with the existing space size and the pre-requisite size required to run them effectively. For instance, Koumpi Coffee and Craft (2018) highlighted:

> The seminars are time and space consuming […] on the one hand I see all the benefits they offer both to the local community and to myself, but on the other hand I have quite a limited space in order to organise them often (Interview Koumpi Coffee and Craft, 2018).

The importance of organising workshops/seminars is also recognised by the other creative spaces (Violino, 2018; Kirki, 2018; Postman Bike Shop, 2018;

Ioannam, 2018; Eikositria, 2018; Dimmer Lightining, 2018), who do not currently organise such activities. Although they lack experience, they understand that a workshop or a seminar can build strong ties with the local community or the city's visitors as well as facilitate in making them realise the value of the creative product/process and learning obtained through it. Therefore, they have expressed their willingness to host such activities within their spaces in the future. Indeed, the creative workers perceive their spaces as a core factor in cultivating a culture of creativity within Thessaloniki, along with the opportunity it gives them to come together with the local community and to meet new people.

Although the above analysed auxiliary aspects of the creative spaces there is a big drawback that restricts them, and this is the isolation. Most of these spaces are not located on the same road or even area, but instead are scattered across Thessaloniki's centre. There is a lack of either a permanent network or an event that will ensure a spatial concentration to help them start meeting each other and form collaborations. At present, the method employed to build their network with other creative spaces is, as Pnoinyski said, "from mouth to mouth" (Interview Pnoinyski, 2018), but this is a slow process and leads to network stagnation. The spatial proximity of creative actors and the benefits it accrues are mentioned by Andre Torre (2008) who emphasises that it leads to the mobilisation of knowledge and production of new products. This is an approach supported by the creators of Thessaloniki as well, as they recognise the importance of a network over working alone. However, one excuse they give for the lack of cooperation is the lack of time (Art2wear, 2018; Sinkleta, 2018; Olga Kaleni, 2018; Mots, 2018). Specifically, Art2wear (2018) claimed that:

> Our free time is really limited due to the demanding nature of our creative work and, as a result, we do not place big effort in searching as well as in expanding our network. The reason is more or less practical, but we would love to find a solution (Interview Art2wear, 2018).

But, according to Slab (2018), this is an excuse because "there are ways to expand your network only if you understand how important is for you and your creativity". For this particular creative business, the answer to this barrier has been given through the organisation of a street-party once per year. In detail, the

Slab (2018) is the founder of a local street party (Figure 38) that started three years ago in order to “bring together the neighbouring creative spaces and share their joy for creation as well as their knowledge both with the local community and with each other” (Interview Slab, 2018). According to this creator’s experience, in the beginning was not easy to persuade other creative spaces to participate in this activity without an economic exchange. But, after the first event, more and more creative workers participated in the following years.

Figure 38: Street party with various creative spaces (author’s own, 2018)

However, this is an exception as most of the creative spaces do not have formal or informal relations with each other. Contrary to the existing situation, all of the creative spaces recognise how vital a source can the existence of collaborations and network among them be, especially since this can act as creative and cultural connectors. This was reiterated by Pnoinyski (2018), who claimed that “if there was a common place or space, we could then share our knowledge, along with our equipment or accessories”. The lack of interaction between the various spaces is greatly deficient due to the lack of a creative cluster, since a cluster can be an area where such interconnections can be strongly developed.

The economic contribution of Thessaloniki’s creative spaces is quite obvious, since all of them produce either products or services and thus contribute to the creative economy of the city. However, this contribution is not officially recognised

by either the state or any other local social infrastructure. Besides, all of the interviewed creators do not realise that their activities have an inherent contribution to a specific part of the economy and this mainly stems from the fact that, firstly, they are not aware of the creative economy notion and, secondly, the lack of existence of an organisation solely focused on the city's creative industries. From their perspective, the economy that they produce does not add a particular economic value to the city, which come in contrast to the available literature that speaks about the creative economy and the creative city appearance. Therefore, it is important, though, for the creative workers of Thessaloniki to realise that their economic activity can – and should – contribute to something bigger.

Overall, from all the above-mentioned data, the study concludes that the spatial characteristics of the creative industries in Thessaloniki confirm the arguments of Collis et al (2013), Gibson (2010) and Flew (2013) that creative industries exhibit locational characteristics, cut across a wide range of activities and support a city's creative landscape. At the same time, they act as promoters of a cultural and social dialogue through their spaces by contributing to the city's social cohesion, solidarity and identity. However, the lack of a common space or area where they can interact with each other, find a partner or exchange ideas is something that is missing from Thessaloniki along with the lack of an official recognition of their economic value. These deficiencies lead to an individual sporadic performance that is not strong enough to create a visible creative network. Therefore, the lack of visibility and the weak local networking that existed in the past, still persists in the present.

6.3.3 The intangible identity of the creative spaces of Thessaloniki

Another important aspect that revealed through the data is the intangible identity of both the creative process and the products produced by Thessaloniki's creative spaces. It has emerged that in most of the cases the creative process and the creative outcome have a hidden value. This value is related to the personal touch and effort reflected both on the process and on the product itself, which in turn give an important substantiation to the existence of Thessaloniki's creative

spaces. Actually, from the creator's viewpoint, when someone buys a creative product affirms the human that created it and thus, enables the practice to be continued. According to Elektronio (2018) "the act of creating unique products distils within it a small part of the creator's self and consequently carries the creator's personal touch". In particular, the product/service is crafted as an expression of a creative person that is treasured and valued as one-of-a-kind. This is also communicated through the custom-made products that all of the creative workers produce as well as through the uniqueness each product carries. Therefore, it moves beyond being a product that is destined for mass consumption but instead is offered as a uniquely-created product/service. As Torokanidi (2018) highlighted:

> While we design and create a product, we always have a client in mind so that we can do something unique for the specific individual […] sometimes it is like playing the role of a psychologist (Interview Torokanidi, 2018).

From the data is also emerged that the creative process is expressed through the process of establishing knowledge, personal touch, emotions and memory, since the creators turn their ideas, metaphors and messages into products/services. These, in turn, add a new cultural and social identity to the city. The means used in the creative process are techniques both traditional and new, giving great importance to the design, quality and materials. In Kirki's (2018) opinion:

> it is an irreplaceable fact to have the freedom to create an end-product that has part of your identity in it and, therefore, become the main reason for the flowering of creativity in the city (Interview Kirki, 2018).

This freedom refers to ideas that each can transform to reality without any constrains; a freedom that signifies their whole lifestyle. They plan their everyday lives in a way that they can be productive and creative. As Torokanidi (2018) stated:

> I am a 'manager' of myself and I have full control over what I am doing and why I do it […] I can create original ideas by putting my own will in the front seat (Interview Torokanidi, 2018).

Notably, the everyday routine of the creator is critical, as it is characterised by the satisfaction he/she gets, since the creative workers is both related to the process and the quality of the outcome.

The different interviews also showed that the most important intangible aspect of the creative process is the irreplaceable driver of love they have in what they do. More specifically, the word mostly used by the creators is *meraki*, a word that cannot be fully translated in English as there is not an equivalent meaning. However, love stems from the word meraki, as the Greek people use this word when they are doing something with soul, creativity and love and when they put "something of themselves" into it (Interview Elektronio, 2018). According to all of the creative spaces, their main concern is not only to secure their financial earnings but also to give and take pleasure of what they do. Therefore, this intangible aspect is an outcome of a creator's feeling because as Mots (2018) contested "it is not about what you make but about who you do it for, what you feel during this process and how it affects both you and the end-product". These values are recognised by the creators as the most important ones in order someone to be join their creative space. They heavily underlined that if someone wants to be part of the creative business, he/she needs to have "passion, eager, love, meraki, creativity, imagination, trust and perception (Interview Mots, 2018; Interview Pnoiniksi, 2018; Interview Torokanidi, 2018; Interview Sinkleta, 2018; Interview Make, 2018; Interview Slab, 2018), and the values he/she seeks to be reflected through both the creative process and the end product.

Along these lines emerge the social and cultural contribution of the creative spaces to the city that is not only limited in the typology of their spaces but also in the creative process and their products. However, these non-market values are difficult to measure in monetary terms but are as important as the instrumental values. According to Sxedia stin Poli (2018), in order to maintain a stable identity, either tangible or intangible:

> there must be a vision behind what one does and creates; when this is done throughout a community, an entire city can then find a new perspective in creativity (Interview Sxedia stin Poli, 2018).

This vision, in order to blossom within the city, does not only depend on the creators, the creative sector and its intangible elements but also on the effort of the encompassing environment and this is the topic under analysis in the next sub-section.

6.3.4 Beyond pessimism: Crisis and creative spaces as drivers for change

The creative sector can be a powerful means in a country or a city that has experienced adversities by overturning norms and difficult situations (KEA, 2015). One of these adversities was the economic crisis that affected and continues to affect many countries around Europe. For Michal Augustyn (2017), it is obvious for people to start looking into alternative and small-scale solutions during difficult times in order to overcome these difficulties.

The interviews revealed that the creative spaces emerged as a result of the crisis, while the reasons behind the decision to establish them varies. However, a small part of the creative workers such as Eleni Xasioti (2018), The Paint Box (2018), Stereosis (2018) and Sinkleta (2018) argued that it would have been better to set up their business in times prior to the crisis, while the rest claimed that their spaces were a way out from a miserable situation caused by the crisis. A strong supporter of the latter was Slab (2018), that stated:

> if there was no crisis, I might not have founded this creative business but instead continued to work in the company I was working at and, thus, I would have never made my dream come true (Interview Slab, 2018).

This view is correlated with the fact that many creators were not satisfied in their previous jobs and had a desire to build something on their own, even if they could not continue to practice what they studied. This proves the argument of Angela McRobbie (2015) that many people are involved with arts and crafts due to unemployment or the unrewarding and insecure nature of working in the service sector. Accordingly, for Spazio 12 (2018), Mots (2018), My Ring (2018) and

Ioannam (2018), they turned to the creative sector due to the high levels of unemployment in the field they are specialised in. As Spazio 12 (2018) explained:

> It is better to deal with something creative and turn your hobby in your permanent job than live in a situation that only produces negative feelings and no results (Interview Spazio 12, 2018).

It appears that their willingness to solve problems they observe in the city and the effort to turn their own ideas into a product or service was a strong motivation as well. As Dennis Stevens (2011, 45) supported, creativity represents stability during turbulent times, a “solace in the tacit”. This happened, for instance, in the case of Ioannam (2018), because:

> creating something with your own hands gives you a great pleasure and satisfaction to see it implemented as well as materialised, during a crisis environment when the opportunities for the young people are few (Interview Ioannam, 2018).

However, the unstable environment generated by the crisis creates an imperative need to expend greater effort in order to have a consistent quality and never be reassured with the existing performance. The creators’ views presented, highlight that a way to be successful in such an unstable setting is to be patient, able to manage the existing difficulties and at the same time receive psychological satisfaction. For instance, as Slab (2018) said:

> It is a continuous fight because what a creative business does is unique, and none is able to guarantee that they will have customers immediately. The way jobs can come to a creator is unknown but what you definitely need is to insist and try hard (Interview Slab, 2018).

For this reason, they need to be open minded and open to collaborations with other people. Patience, of course, stems also from the belief on the abilities that a creator must have in order to evolve within a community. The latter would prove that these creative initiatives are related with “a conscious act of resistance and search for authenticity” (Jacob, 2013, 129). Under this vein, Thessaloniki’s

creative workers are resisting individuality but instead work with other people and produce unique products with an anti-commercial image. Accordingly, Bibliodesia (2018):

> It has been a wakeup call on the way people can work together and rebuild the city that is slowly emerging through an economic crisis. However, we cannot forget that people are demanding, cautious, and restrained, so the creator has to exude a certainty and authenticity (Interview Bibliodesia, 2018).

The creators feel that, through their spaces, they can fill the gap created by the crisis year after year and give a new, more creative appearance to the future of the city. They believe that being creative and creating your own space, on the one side, is quite risky but on the other, it is an alternative solution for all the young people who are unemployed or feel trapped in a position that does not reflect their skills. Indeed, this also emerged in the literature in Chapter 2; the act of making is encompassing and not just a singular activity, as it carries an ideology that suggests a particular outlook on the world whilst acting as a powerful element to improve a misleading situation (Jakob, 2013).

However, despite the valuable effort expended by the creative workers to set up all these creative spaces, one further difficulty added during the last years is the Greek taxation system. The main problem is that the taxes are the same for every business, no matter its size or nature. It is quite inconsistent, as these people have established these spaces in order to overcome the problems caused by the economic crisis, make their dream come true and eventually produce an alternative economy for the city. Instead, the Greek state is not rewarding this activity by applying the same level of taxes on all the types of the small-medium sized businesses, effectively ignoring their unique, creative and not mass production aspect.

Therefore, it is possible to state that the creative workers of Thessaloniki pooled whatever resources they had available together in order to form new creative spaces and generate a new wave of practices based on their skills and knowledge. Given the very severe youth unemployment in Greece, its creative

sector may be particularly important for job creation and a powerful element within the current crisis. Creativity and change are closely linked, where creativity is needed to respond to change, and creativity is the result of change.

6.4 Conclusions

This chapter has analysed and presented in detail both the existing context of the surrounding area of the Allatini Mills in terms of its uses and the possibility of regenerating the particular site into a creative hub. From the analysis derives that the everyday need of the residents is covered in a great extent but at the same time these needs sustain the neighbourhood character. This outcome puts the researcher into a position to propose as a possible use the location of the creative spaces within the Allatini Mills. In the second part of this chapter has revealed how powerful these creative spaces in terms of social, cultural and economic aspect can be by contributing to the sense of neighbourhood. It has also demonstrated that the creative sector needs to be recognised officially as a lever of development for a medium-sized city like Thessaloniki, especially in times of economic crisis. For the present situation, the challenge for both the Greek society and its economy is not only the protection and the maintenance of its industrial heritage, but also the creation of new forms of culture which will encourage all citizens to participate in a knowledge production process and develop new ideas, promoting the originality, the personal expression and innovation. Under this vein, the economic sector of the country will not only be based on tourism and on the traditional triad “sea, sun and antiquities”, but move beyond and develop creative clusters where active creative dialogue that positively contributes to the city’s urban fabric will take place. Overall, this chapter contributed to knowledge on the local creative spaces of Thessaloniki through a qualitative way; an issue that is less-discussed as the existing studies on this topic are limited to statistical results concerning the overall image of Greece.

The following chapter discusses the findings of Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, and put them into perspective by critically examining and evaluating them in relation to the literature review. It will, in fact, comment on the key findings which answer the main research question along with providing the proposed approach.

Chapter 7. The challenges of regenerating the Allatini Mills: A synthesis

7.1 Introduction

This chapter combines the empirical findings from Chapter 4, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 that were derived from archival records, fieldwork documentation and semi-structured interviews in order to identify the challenges in using the Allatini Mills as a catalyst for urban regeneration. Based on the concepts of the community of action, the community of place and the community of interest and their influence towards the industrial heritage, this thesis sought to explore how complex the regeneration of the case-study of the Allatini Mills in Thessaloniki is likely to be. This discussion also draws on the broader context of the literature review from Chapter 2 in order to bridge the gap between empirical and theoretical data.

Throughout this composition, this study extracts various themes that can critically inform the complexity for the regeneration of Thessaloniki's industrial heritage by having the local creative industries as a possible use. These revolve around the various obstacles leading to the non-completion of an industrial heritage regeneration, along with the in-between time until its abandonment. Some of these obstacles are: the individualistic behaviour, the dichotomy between the community of action and the community of place, as well as the (dis)trust as key to empowerment, the lack of creative expression and the performance of the community of interest. Following this analysis, this thesis argues that there is a mean to safeguard the industrial heritage by employing an alternative urban regeneration scheme that emphasises more on active engagement instead of individualism. Therefore, this thesis targets the gradual change from a top-down to a more bottom-up approach by, at the same time, introducing a new use to the area through the creative sector, with the view to exploit the local industrial heritage as a catalyst for urban regeneration.

7.2 The challenges in exploiting the Allatini Mills as a catalyst for urban regeneration

The analytical chapters of this study have offered a thorough, multiscale exploration of the socio-economic conditions during different chronological times of the Allatini Mills and the urban fabric of Thessaloniki. The close examination of the development of the Allatini Mills as an active industry and the management of the legal and illegal exploitation of the place confirmed the application of the importance of this place not only for the previous generations but also for the most recent ones. The intentions of cultural cleansing through interventions from the community of action, which tried to be enforced through the regeneration of the Allatini Mills caused an intense dissatisfaction of the community of place. But, as discussed in Chapter 2, tangible and intangible cultural heritage has the potential to bring people together around shared values and help them work towards a more prosperous future, instead of dividing them (Harrison, 2018; Xie, 2015). Therefore, to resist and reverse the existing challenges in order to construct a better outcome in the future, there is a need to understand the people's behaviour and capture their necessities, along with city's new elements; namely the perception of the past, its impact in the present and its practices on present and future social action (Mergos and Patsavos, 2017). These necessities and the resulting relation complexities are summarised in the findings below which act as palimpsests containing layers of valuable information for the future decision-making.

7.2.1 Challenge 1: The individualistic attitude

As discussed in Chapter 5, the interviews with the community of action revealed firstly, the heritage owners as being the principal decision-makers on industrial heritage regeneration and, secondly, their stance towards the past and their intentions for the interaction between the built-heritage and the community of place. The analysis showed that, although the Allatini Mills was listed as a monument, the community of action approached its regeneration like any other private project. At the same time, the community of place seemed to ignore its private status and appeared to perceive it as a space that belongs to the city and

needs to have a public use. For instance, the majority of the community of place interviewees highlighted what the initial characterisation of the Allatini Mills' premises were by referring to it as *communal green space* – indicating the necessity for public intervention. This attitude stems mainly from the limited public space available and their longing desire for one, because, as Dragonas (2014) underlined, the *antiparochi* system brought a holistic change in the Greek cities, and one of these was the limitation of the public space. The consequences of these two attitudes materialised in a complex and complete disagreement between the two communities, where each one sought its rights separately. Therefore, one of the main challenges to be overcome is the individualistic approach of the community of action that also appeared to permeate into the community of place.

More specifically, the community of place, although being the one with an emotional attachment to the built-heritage through their stories and reflective nostalgia, has been largely excluded from the decisions of the community of action. By witnessing this attitude, it is postulated that the physical and mental exclusion of the community of place contributed to the deterioration of an already problematic situation. Through its social interpretation, the thesis argues that, at first, the community of action distanced themselves because of their willingness to carry out a well-designed project whilst indirectly discouraging the community of place to interact with it. Secondly, the individualistic behaviour appears to has also been transmitted to the community of place, creating a strong and irreversible stand-off. Consequently, the Allatini Mills was turned into a field of community division and conflicting interests instead of acting as a medium that united people. In addition, the thesis maintains that the activities of the community of action that led to the detachment of the community of place from the industrial heritage led, in turn, to their own detachment from them, causing a series of new challenges that impaired their ability to manage the project more effectively and overcome or eliminate the problems that arose.

Given the results of the above conditions and their relevant practices, it seems that one of the challenges that must be overcome and addressed is related with the design practices and the relevant attitude of each community. According to the literature, the way such a challenge may be overcome is, on the one hand, a

top-down regeneration scheme to facilitate the involvement of the community of place, prior to and during the planning phase (Aitken, 2012). On the other hand, the owners' norms to frame the heritage narratives by encompassing the stories of the community of place, making the industrial heritage planning relevant to broader parts of the community, promotes heritage sustainability (Selman, 2007). This thesis argues that these actions are a path towards a two-way channel and a mutual relationship creation between the community of action and the community of place. A finding of this thesis that showcases the benefits of social gatherings is the *Depolites,* introduced by the community of place and which functions with success. This practical example highlights that mutual relationship is based on an open-ended commitment and, as Hussain (2018) argues, the expected outcome is too people to make contributions to the common good of a place. Based on the aforementioned finding, this informal group of the community of place shapes a nostalgic outlook for the neighbourhood, which can be used as a starting point and as a powerful element in order to improve the divisive situation of the Allatini Mills management. This challenge also brings Jakob's (2013) argument to the forefront, stating that an open assembly from the beginning of the planning practice creates a common ground in order for the strong individualistic behaviour of decision-makers to be shifted towards a more conciliatory one. Faced with this challenge, it is more likely that the multiple goals of the community of action and place centred around the commercial development, social integration, and heritage protection will be achieved in a reflected way.

Although the community of interest was not involved in the past attempt, they also appear to face the same challenge as the other two communities and suffer from an individualistic behaviour – only that, in their case, it is targeted towards their own community instead of externalising it. This can be attributed to a lack of trust among the members of the community, as they are individuals that have shaped their creative spaces in solitude and do not take lightly in relying on others for completing a project. Compounding to this, the multitude of roles they are expected to perform (as seen in Chapter 6), leaves little time for cultivating a deep, trusting relationship with other members of the creative spaces and, thusly, allow this potential opportunity to pass unexploited. However, the data also revealed that such collaborations, when they are performed, bring benefits not

only to the creators themselves but to the public in general. Preliminary signs of this appeared to a greater scale when, as seen in Chapter 6, organisations like *Handpeak* tried to bridge that divide through interactions with external customers; however, the underlying systemic behaviour could not be overcome and would require a more structural intervention to amend this. Overall, although this individualistic behaviour developed out of necessity and due to the conditions imposed by the economic crisis for the community of interest, it still has some similarities to the one exhibited by the communities of place and action. As Theodossiou et al (2019) states, self-awareness is a powerful element that can shift an individual's attitude towards a cooperative behaviour.

7.2.2 Challenge 2: The needs and the decision-making power

Chapter 5 revealed that the role of the community of action in shaping the regeneration of the Allatini Mills mainly revolved around reaping the utmost benefit – mainly economic in nature. In particular, this study has found that the market values had a great effect in shaping the perspective of the Allatini Mills' owner. As this became the main driver behind the decisions of the community of action, alternative options became unappealing, leading to an unyielding attitude againsy the needs of the community of place and inducing an environment of distrust. This is strengthening the observation made through of the literature, presenting that if the drivers behind each community's actions become the sole focus, then there is a mental and emotional distance from each other created and, subsequently, from the built-heritage (ICCROM, 2015). However, the perspective of the community of action contrasts with that of the community of place, with the latter showing great nostalgia for the social character that is missing from the area, something they are expecting that the Allatini Mills' regeneration to bring back. Therefore, this is a challenging point for the future of the Allatini Mills, as there is a need to bridge the gap between the two perspectives, where the utmost benefit of the regeneration will not only be economic but also social.

Another finding of this thesis is related to the intentions of the community of action to preserve and recycle only the architectural structures of the Allatini Mills'

buildings without prioritising the preservation of intangible aspects of the site. This action, as is discussed in Chapter 5, aimed at reap the market-oriented benefits of such a regeneration and, consequently, to lose other forms of attachment stemming from it. According to Oevermann and Mieg (2014), this interpretation is considered as a discourse based on architectural production and its values rely on design, aesthetics and spatial quality. This discourse, nonetheless, is not based on an analysis of historical significance, but, instead, on the raw material of heritage – such as the building stock – that inspires new interpretations and transformations. Based on the observations of same authors, a positive outcome of this type of discourse is the partial preservation of the tangible identity of the industrial heritage site, but with a severe loss of the heritage from its intangible assets. More specifically, the historical account and the results of the interviews elicited through the respondents' insights showed that when the Allatini Mills was an active industry, it acted for the city as a driver of unity for the whole neighbourhood. The further exploration of the demographic data illuminated that the impact of the above-mentioned values towards the Allatini Mills was more evident for old-timers (people who had live around the Allatini Mills for at least 60 years) than for the younger population. These values led the community of place to maintain a common vision for the regeneration attempt of the Allatini Mills that was and still is oriented towards the city needs and consequently towards their own, instead of solely serving the market values. This mutual interest was also the main element that created a point of unity amongst the individuals of the community of place and led them to act collectively. Through this way, and by connecting it with the philosophical interpretation of Etzioni (2015), the community of place was perceived by the community of action as a third force, since the former applied pressure that was countering the economic activities of the latter, since the proposed activities did not reflect their well-being. Therefore, the main challenge that stemmed from this interpretation was that, according to the community of place, the Allatini Mills is an industrial site with not only an emblematic architectural appearance but also with a strong identity that is associated with its past contribution to the city

Based on the findings of this thesis, another challenge that exist and reinforces the complexity of the Allatini Mills regeneration is the suitability of the proposed use and whether it can meet the needs of both the community of action and place.

On the one hand, the needs of the community of action are located in the market values and on the other, the community of place needs the Allatini Mills to become a common reference point for the neighbourhood and fulfil their nostalgia. The specific challenge is partially addressed by this study since the researcher has concluded that the surrounding area of the Allatini Mills maintains various commercial uses, such as restaurants, bars, food markets and mostly residential units. However, a missing use that might fulfil the needs of both communities is through using the creative industries and, more specifically, through the exploitation of the community of interest, which according to Chapter 6, acts as an effective middle ground between the market values and a new social value of the city. Interestingly, the study evidences that in the case of Thessaloniki's creative spaces, the market acted as a challenge that had to be overcome. More specifically, the competing market environment drove the community of interest to establish these spaces – more like businesses – as a way to create alternative conditions to cope with a hostile setting. They have come to terms with the market as they need to survive within the social fabric of the city and not be lost due to the unemployment caused by the economic crisis. Instead of going against their problem, they tried to look at it formed different perspective and create spaces that include the market element but, at the same time, incorporate elements of the social and cultural sphere. This is also confirmed by the literature in Chapter 2 as, according to Jarvis et al (2009), the inclusion of the creative industries in the industrial heritage regeneration offers a veritable balance, because the intangible elements of the built-heritage are combined with the ones of the creative industries. This association creates a quasi-common space that functions within a market environment while bringing profits to the creative class of a city at the same time, since the creative industries were created as a way of balancing market influence in cities and providing more space for creative freedom. (Florida, 2002). Following the example of LXF, examined in Chapter 2, and comparing it with the findings from the Allatini Mills case, a source of profit for the owners may arise from the rental income that each creator will have to pay in order to be able to use the space. The adoption of such a proposition is encased by sources from literature, which support that the allocation of creative industries within an industrial heritage helps them be perceived as a vital economic force and function as an alternative premise for the city's development (Hesmondhalgh, 2013; Hewison, 2014; Navarro, 2016).

Under this provision, and in conjunction with the findings of this study on the traces of urbex in the Allatini Mills, a fourth category of community will be also able to find home for their needs. This community is the local young people who used the space of the Allatini Mills for their personal expression, entertainment and creativity after the regeneration processes stopped. During this period of time, the Allatini Mills acted as a free space of expression and enabled local people to explore a derelict site. Therefore, the challenge of addressing the market needs of the decision makers in power is equally important to considering the needs of the different local communities.

7.2.3 Challenge 3: The emotional attachment

Through the analysis of Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, the study discovered that the proposed heritage regeneration for the Allatini Mills was perceived to act as a threat for the community of place, because the market was about to disrupt both the Allatini Mills' cultural fabric and the social cohesion role it served. As it was discussed in the previous subsection, the market introduced a complexity that caused reactions, part of which was related with the strong nostalgia that the community of place projected to the particular place. The nostalgia, memories and identity of the Allatini Mills is quite the evident triad in the case of the community of place but not in the community of action, which confirmed by Graham (2002), who argues that the socially-constructed meanings of heritage, and by extension, the process of collective identity formation is inextricably linked with the local community and their investment in multiple meanings. Therefore, the challenge that arises in this context is “how can the attachment of the community of place be reflected in the decision of the community of action?” Because, according to the findings, the lack of understanding caused the community of place to openly resist to the proposed use, instead of acting as a force promoting inclusivity.

Shedding more light on this finding, the identity and memory of the Allatini Mills was exposed both through the collected archival data and through the interviews with the community of place. These two sources have stressed the powerful historical character of the former industry, whose operation influenced the development of the city to a great extent. The cultural elements of the Allatini Mills

are not something that belongs only to the past, because according to the community of place, it still affects the neighbourhood. This implies that a challenge that will need to be faced in the future is for the regeneration of the Allatini Mills to depart from the architectural-centric discourse and become more community-oriented by guarding the meanings that the community of place attributes to it. This is a key challenge, because even after the Allatini Mills were designated as part of the cultural heritage, the attempted regeneration was seen by the community of action as a potential for development and profit, by discarding the intangible value of the Allatini Mills. In opposition, the strand of the literature in Chapter 2 demonstrates that the sense of attachment in an urban regeneration effort can be successful through the re-production and communication of a scheme that includes both tangible and intangible elements of the built-heritage. As Chhotray and Stoker (2009) claim, the new informed practices on urban regeneration mobilise the active participation of the community in order to shape a sense of belonging. In addition, the findings of the study that emerged from the testimonies of the local community, lead to the realisation that without a connection, they lose any meaningful attachment and, as a result, they lose interest in the Allatini Mills. In essence, this study argues that there is a key distinction between the power of the market and the nostalgia towards a place's identity, as the former can be used to privilege only a few whereas the latter is 'owned' by the community of place and reflects their historical connectivity. The latest argument is evident in the case of the Allatini Mills, as the community of place wanted a new use with a strong element of unity to be ascribed to the heritage. This was revealed through the interviews of the members of the community of place, as seen in Chapter 4. This feeling of unity is not unfounded; from the beginning of the operational years of the Allatini Mills, the social character towards its workers and local community was a prevalent factor, as described in Chapter 4, and the community of place still recalls its impact in their lives. As Nora (1996) and Graham (2002) argue, this attachment has a positive impact for the city, as it minimises any fragmented perceptions of heritage and moves beyond aesthetic motivations. The spatial dimension of community interactions with heritage, which was found to affect the intentions and the sense of identity of the community of a place, is therefore a complexity that informs the different levels of an urban regeneration planning.

In essence, this study argues that all the described challenges are crucial, since they encourage a joint diagnosis and establish a common understanding of the current situation and existing key needs, challenges and conflicts in order for both communities to be understood and represented within the Allatini Mills future regeneration. Correspondingly, one of the approaches developed in Chapter 2 was from Mergos and Patsavos (2017), who argued that the creation of a balance between mutual attachment and market is derived when the host activities benefit the public and function for the city's common good, instead of creating a privileged space for the few. The study extends this interesting approach by arguing that an important finding for the Allatini Mills is its strong identity associated with the intangible features of the place. Therefore, the high appreciation of the identity by the community of place enforced their participation and attachment and led them form under a common goal.

7.2.4 Challenge 4: The conflict of interests

Drawing on the study's literature, Selznick (2002) claimed that in case of conflicts within a community, a fragmented society would emerge – reflected by the elimination of normative principles and communal life. This indication, however, is partially contrary to the findings revealed from the case of the Allatini Mills, a different perception was narrated during the time of the regeneration attempt. The data of the interviews exhibited an oxymoron because, on the one hand, the community of place was opposed to the community of action resulting in a fragmented relationship between them. On the other hand though, the members who were part of the community of place were integrated into a new reality of cooperation with the ultimate goal of increasing the communal life of the neighbourhood. This new reality took form in the collaboration among the members of the community of place, as within the framework of a conflicted situation they managed to recognise their communal benefits and were willing to jointly defence their right to the place. Based on the same findings, however, adopting a joint course of action for the Allatini Mills' exploitation was not as straightforward for the community of action as it was for the community of place, given that the structure of the decision-makers was significantly more susceptible to conflict. As their structure was more hierarchical in nature, the divergent

preferences among the group members with regards to their desired course of action was supressed and, by extension, so were the uses that they wished to deliver to the heritage. Consequently, the challenge here is that the community of action could not be as united a front as the local community was in order to engage in a constructive discussion and, thus, make their position acceptable. An alternative way does exist though, as Bertotti et al (2011) implied, since channelling the power of decisions across the various stakeholders entails both the horizontal redistribution and the allocation of responsibilities towards all. This observation signifies that collaboration is not only about engaging with others and sharing understandings or ideas but is about creating them anew and, according to Alford (2018), the power to create comes from the capacity to cooperate, to make interpersonal connections and to develop relationships.

Interestingly, when the members of the community of place acted autonomously during the first stage of the regeneration attempt (opposing the authorisation for the permitted building rate), they exhibited less of a cooperative behaviour. However, when the second stage came about (the full authorisation for the entire proposed project), they appeared more connected and were therefore in a better position to influence the final outcome. What led them to this position was the formation of a group with appointed representatives, facilitating the communication of their position in a more cohesive way and rallying allies such as the ecological movement and a lawyer to their cause. This collaborative attitude of the community of place was finally adopted because the stakes were higher on their side, as they were the ones that would have to endure the consequences of the regeneration attempt, which urged them to find ways to work together. In compliance to the literature introduced in previous chapters, when a case of conflict between heritage and communities arises, the communities' participation in the protection of heritage may change and the communities realise the importance of their position within it (Kisić's, 2017). In the case of the Allatini Mills, the realisation stemmed through their petition to the Greek state that overturned the previous decision – to the benefit of a specific segment of the city. Therefore, the dynamics of the community of place prevailed over the ones of the community of action, because the first were formed through a negotiation of interests among its members and, thereby, advanced the members' cooperation against the non-beneficial policies. Through these

findings, the study argues that the process of open dialog seems to contribute in building a long-term relationship among the members of a community.

It can therefore be seen that the challenge of conflict can play both a constructive and a destructive role; the case of the community of place reveals the way it can be used constructively. This implies that in conflictual situations, disagreement and collective interests have worked constructively rather than destructively for the industrial heritage – such as the *NDSM Wharf* example in Amsterdam that was reviewed in Chapter 2. The dynamics of the negotiations, as extracted from the interview data on the Allatini Mills, suggested that the constructive role of the conflict became apparent after the majority of the local community exhibited cooperative behaviour. Therefore, this study proposes that conflict per se should not be seen as a barrier for the Allatini Mills but rather as a catalyst for urban regeneration, given that it can lead to constructive negotiation if the majority of participants are willing to compromise and cooperate.

7.2.5 Challenge 5: The lack of trust

The lack of trust, which in the case of the Allatini Mills was found to be a key variable, manifests itself as a social challenge. The literature informs this study that trust plays a pivotal role in social exchanges and is critical for promoting communal benefits (Nunkoo and Ramkinssoon, 2011). At the same time, the findings of this research have confirmed the particular argument, since the interview data demonstrated that the conflict between the community of place and action created a situation of mutual distrust. More specifically, the community of place perceived the community of action as remote and assigned irresponsibility towards the way they attempted to regenerate the Allatini Mills. Similarly, the community of action also expressed distrust towards the community of place, because they felt that their objections towards the attempt tried to undermine them as decision-makers and questioned their expertise. The same findings, however, displayed that when trust is cultivated, a lot of variables can change. This was evident in the case of the community of place who cooperated and showed trust to a local eco-political group. Together, they moved against the regeneration effort and they finally managed to directly influence the result of the

Greek Ministerial decision. As Spiridon and Sandu (2012) introduced in the secondary research, achieving a balance through dialog and cooperation creates a fertile climate, where trust is built into a relationship by avoiding unfortunate situations that can jeopardise heritage. Therefore, the challenge under these findings relies on the trust issues that existed between the community of place and the community of action, along with their understanding of the importance of.

In addition, the study has also reached the conclusion that the community of interest has a significant look of trust among its members, exhibited through coherence deficiency. As demonstrated by the interview data, the creative spaces in Thessaloniki are acting individually without adopting an extrovert behaviour. The only exception to this is the seminars or/and the workshops that a part of them organise, which help them develop an interactive character – not amongst themselves but instead with the local community. In the cases of the seminars or/and the workshops, the creative spaces sustain an attitude of trust that is distributed within the local community and not to similar spaces. Based on the findings, this behaviour is driven by two aspects: the first is the promotion that the creators need in order to meet the market demand. The second is based on a personal need, as the creators want to be extrovert and pass on their skills to other people. The oxymoron in this situation is that, although the community of interest shares a common value in the face of creativity, they do not use it as common ground in order to build cohesion and trust with other creative spaces. This comes in contrast to the other two aforementioned communities that have seemingly no common value in the foreground but have nonetheless managed to achieve some level of internal cohesion. Instead, they confine themselves to the local community and to people who do not have an extended creative background. Therefore, the challenge in relation to the community of interest and their possible use in the regeneration of the Allatini Mills is to understand that the common good of creativity is a point of unity and not a constrain; this can positively contribute to the activation of the space as a catalyst. However, as established through the interviews performed and analysed in Chapter 6, this will not be difficult to do because the devotion of the community of interest to creativity is their main motivation and it is likely to function as an anchor point to bring them together and evolve a cooperative behaviour. This is also affirmed by the literature on the creative industries in Chapter 2, which places great emphasis on

the mobilisation of knowledge and exchange of skills under a context of co-location that presupposes the existence of trust in order for new cooperatively creative products to develop (Torre, 2008; Gainza, 2018). Therefore, this study argues that the proximity of the creative spaces within the Allatini Mills may help them boost and promote their cooperation and alter them from being isolated creators to be more inclusive. In addition, as the community of interest claimed through the interviews, the co-location is a networking opportunity that will assist them escape from the 'word of mouth' promotion and strengthening their visibility to the public. This type of networking is, as Hesmondhalgh (2013) claimed, a way to make the creative industries visible in a city and to confirm the position of creative workers to civic leaders and high-level local stakeholders. Overall, the creative workers have strongly supported the idea of a creative cluster within an industrial heritage site, because each creative business can bring its expertise, exchange their creative ideas and knowledge, form a cooperation, grow long-term partnerships and act as a united creative sector of the city.

An inference of the primary research that adds on the previous challenge is the previous experiences that most of the community of interest has on trusting other creators, as it has not led them to the desired result. They perceive it as a pathogenesis of the Greeks who have not learned to cooperate and build trust relations as each try to find a way to surpass the other. In this sense, this is a bigger challenge that concerns not only this part of the society but the Greeks in general. However, the positive outcome of the findings is that the community of interest is willing to eliminate this challenge by providing equal distribution and balance of roles within a possible co-location in the Allatini Mills. Further findings are that the community of interest suggests the occurrence of this colocation with a clear division of labour and responsibilities from the beginning of such an initiative and the appointment of representatives with the accountability for overseeing the operational aspects of the Allatini Mills space. These representatives will then be responsible for the proper functioning of the space and act as facilitators for the broader community of interest. Overall, for the case of the community of interest and the lack of trust, there seems to exist a proposal from their side on how to overcome this particular challenge.

7.2.6 Challenge 6: The complexity of identity

Another challenge that revolves around the complexity of the regeneration of the Allatini Mills is maintaining its past identity. This can be read in the testimonies of the community of place, who single-out this space over others because they remember its historicity and express a nostalgia for its lost identity due to dereliction and recent events. Despite the effort of the community of action to regenerate the former industry and save it from the ravages of time, the community of place acted against this effort based on their fear that the Allatini Mills' identity would be lost due to the new structures they planned to be build. At this point, it can be noticed that the past identity of the place and its emblematic appearance have a dominant role for the community of place, affecting their decisions and actions. Therefore, the challenge that arises for the future of this place is whether a new proposed use may have an identity that compliments the previous one. Under this questionable challenge, the researcher has decided to bring together the findings on the Allatini Mills and on the local creative spaces in order to understand the similarities or differences of the corresponding identities, since the creative spaces have been proven to be a case with both a tangible and an intangible identity, as was seen in the analysis, i.e that both their space per se and their products have a distinct and unique identity.

The analysis provided in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6 presented the Allatini Mills as a place of production and, similarly, the creative spaces are places of creative production through the means of knowledge and skills. Moreover, the examination of the identity of the Allatini Mills and the identity of the local creative spaces showed that, although there are two different spaces, they both share a similar identity of production but under different means. In the first case the Allatini Mills used to be a former industry that was producing flour and bread, while in the second case, the creative spaces are places of creative production that use creative worker's skills and knowledge in order to create new products or services. These identities also maintain a social character, which for the Allatini Mills is summarised in the memories of the community of place and for the creative spaces in the operation of the space. As described in Chapter 6, the creative workers of Thessaloniki use their space to draw inspiration and evolve their craft during the difficult times of the economic crisis, when the

unemployment is rising. In addition, the analysis of the Allatini Mills' historical account makes it evident that this industry played a vital role during the humanitarian crisis during the Ottoman era, by providing food and housing assistance to the locals. The Allatini Mills' social identity with creative spaces is in no way comparable, but what is indisputable and can be described as similarity is the sense of hope for a change in the city, as the economic crisis not only causes difficulties but also alternatives for the future of the city; creative spaces are such an example.

Moreover, the empirical investigation of the study found out that the typology of the creative space is divided in two areas (production and sale), which helps the local community to have a better overview of the business activities and, thus, highlights their creative identity. At the same time, this typology promotes and helps the sales of the business and markets the creator's expertise. Therefore, the clients/visitors come in contact with the creative process though the appeal of the space's typology by using its intangible aspects. This typology, though, necessitates a very disciplined use of time on the part of the creators, as was seen in the interviews of Chapter 6, since they need to perform multiple roles with a potential impact on their creativity. A potential colocation can ameliorate this, as this study argues that it would allow for the possibility of creators to take turns catering to customers or perform other activities, while the rest could be fully occupied with their creative process. Such a condition would still allow for the customers to experience the creative process but also free up more time for the creators. In a similar manner, pooling of resources amongst creative spaces can allow for an upgraded creative space, as they can collectively buy equipment that none alone could, paving new creative avenues for the community of action – a possibility they themselves also suggested in the semi-structured interviews analysed in Chapter 6.

The socio-economic contribution of the Allatini Mills in the past and the various creative spaces in the present situates the creative industries in a place where the arisen challenge is to find a way to connect these two identities without one overshadowing the other. Therefore, the question that arises for future studies is "how to bring the intangible elements of the Allatini Mills to the forefront, by perpetuating the perception assigned to it and strengthening the memories that

associate the particular place as an area that is beneficial for the community of place, action and interest".

7.2.7 Challenge 7: The ideals of the future

An additional challenge observed in the case of the Allatini Mills – maybe the most important – are the various ideals that the three communities maintain in regard to the future regeneration of the place. These ideals express the suggestions, vision and desires of the three communities in order to feel satisfied with the Mills' exploitation. As Capello et al (2020) claims, heritage represents a tangible form of culture, while its intangible aspect consists of community values and are equally important to inform an urban regeneration project. The values here are reflected through ideals, part of them also includes the possibility of the creative industries to exist as an attributed use for the Allatini Mills. The latter is derived from the community of interest, who shared their thoughts and suggestions on co-locating their activities within the Allatini Mills.

Starting with the findings on the community of place and the analysis on Chapter 5, it appears that they had various ideals on the future exploitation of the Allatini Mills, but the commonality was that none of them was pleased with the incomplete proposal of the previous exploitation effort. The disappointment may mainly derive from the little interest the ambitious and overarching plans of the community of action that was showing towards the community of place itself. This feeling is strengthened up to this day, because the physical entity of the Allatini Mills is still in danger and their needs and memories attached to the place are still neglected. However, they maintain faith in the future of this place and develop various proposals for it. To begin with, one of their ideals is the emergence of a public-private partnership between the owners of Allatini Mills and local public authorities. This type of ownership may create a semi-private space closer to the needs of the locale and will not only be oriented towards the gratification of the owners. The ideals of the community of place are not only limited on the ownership status but also extent on the use. Although they did not indicate a specific use, they call upon a use that will respect the identity of the place and be harmonised with the character of the area. They strongly claim that the Allatini

Mills site per se is a valuable asset in a great location and it sustains assets that can convert it into an ideal area for the neighbourhood and the city in general. As the community of place declared, the main objective for such a regeneration is not to build on top or around the industrial monument but to keep it safe from the ravages of time, to attribute its exploitation to common use and to preserve its strong identity and memory by converting it to a new landmark for the city. This ideal derives from their attachment and pride towards the Allatini Mills and, due to that, they are looking for a regeneration scheme as strong as the Allatini Mills' past identity. They want to see the same glory that the Allatini Mills had in the past to be revived to the present. In addition, part of the younger members of the community of place argued that the financial support of the local government was incomplete in the past and, consequently, they sustained the ideal on funding the regeneration of the Allatini Mills from external funders. They specifically raised the point for the Green Fund, the Ministry of Culture and European low-interest loans that may support the Allatini Mills' restoration and regeneration. Overall, their ideals perceive the Allatini Mills as a unique place that should involve activities benefiting the public and function for the city's common good – instead of being a privileged space for the few or being dangerous for the young population living around.

On the contrary, the findings for the community of action showed that they still have great faith in the previous proposal but only have some concerns about the surrounding space of the Allatini Mills – the segment of the attempt that caused reactions. Based on their viewpoint, the previous proposal had the positive factor of preserving the external historical façade of the central building of the Mills, while it was repurposed to a use that would bring economic benefits. However, part of the community of action showed a concern on whether there is a timely necessity in today's austerity-laden time to build more housing complexes in Thessaloniki, since there is a vast concentration of blocks of flats and a lack of communal spaces at the moment. This view was consistent with the local community's standpoint, which claimed that Thessaloniki is 'flooded' by residential buildings, part of which are poorly maintained as their owners cannot afford to do so properly. In contrast, they claimed that what is really missing from the surrounding area is an open space, which could be used as a meeting point for their everyday activities. Therefore, the ideal for this part of the community is

focused on the previous proposal with some adjustments and the connection of the project with the current needs of the market.

For the community of interest, the ideal refers to the opportunity that will be given to them to create a coordinated effort within the Allatini Mills in order to expand the local creative sector that they belong. The analysis in Chapter 6 reveals that such a prospect will be a way to strengthen the creative sector of Thessaloniki and an opportunity for them to start collaborating more. Their experience interestingly shows that the proximity with other creative spaces brings new projects, new collaborations and reinforces the concept of co-operation – with the latter one being a missing aspect from Thessaloniki's society in general nowadays, due to a general sentiment of mistrust. At the same time, one of the main ideals such an intervention will make use of, is the historical background of the space that works as an inspirational point for them by bridging the culture of the past with the present. In this case, they believe that the formation of a creative cluster within an industrial heritage will be more like a dream come true. They also expressed a deep disappointment with the fact that a lot of former industries of Greece are vacant and no one is taking care of them. They even suggested that the vacant shops within the city centre should be transformed into creative spaces in order for creativity to spread further. It appears that is really important for them to have a place where all of the creative spaces are gathered, so that the local community and the visitors of Thessaloniki can easily find them and become an active part of the creative sector. Despite the main ideal, there are various points to be addressed in order for such a project to practically work and be successful. One of these points is the absence of a collective culture, which instead should be cultivated, since they believe that collectivism brings more positive results than individuality does while increasing the social character of their work.

Overall, all three chapters of the analysis revealed that, first, a common desire between the three communities is the protection of the Allatini Mills in general and more specifically, of its architectural appearance as soon as possible – as everyone fears that, if its regeneration is delayed further, the city will lose a piece of cultural heritage with a strong cultural identity and memory. Secondly, there has been no similar study so far that combines the views of these three

communities and their ideals on the exploitation of a local industrial heritage, combined with the potential for the development of a creative complex.

7.3 Conclusions

The analysis of the case study has led this research to uncover the potential challenges that need to be overcome in order for the regeneration of the Allatini Mills to work as a catalyst for the city. The main argument that emerged from the findings is on the criticality of the importance of the industrial heritage of Thessaloniki and its history for the formation of local systems and economic outcomes for the city in the future. A key aspect that has emerged in order to create a successful regeneration project is for the communities involved to understand the challenges of the existing locale and make their decisions accordingly. Once such an aspect is established as common goal, a relationship of trust and defined access in the Allatini Mills may be possible to flourish.

Moreover, drawing on the extracted challenges of the case study, this research suggests an effort that needs to be made in the future is to link the community streams. The added value of this study lies specifically in bringing the various beliefs, viewpoints and opinions together as well as highlighting that industrial heritage and creativity in Thessaloniki do in fact interact on a territorial level for the first time and can concur to push economic development by mutually reinforcing their interpretative potential. The Allatini Mills needs to be treated as a place whereby the community of place, the community of action and the community of interest recognise their collective interests and guide the development of the particular place towards a consensual alternative with sustainable directions. After all, the regeneration of an industrial heritage is not something static, because it has a gradual and continuous character that cannot be holistically framed, since it changes according to the various communities involved. Therefore, the thesis views the regeneration of the Allatini Mills as a gradual transformative process that is heavily influenced by the available dynamics of each community.

Chapter 8. Main findings and the future research directions

8.1 Introduction

This final chapter concludes the thesis by placing the key findings in perspective, in order to inform the complexity of an industrial heritage regeneration by using creative industries in Thessaloniki – while also recognising the limitations of the study. Based on the findings, this chapter draws important conclusions and further implications that respond to the main research question. The main argument of the thesis is that industrial heritage owners who wish to use their heritage to stimulate the development of the surrounding area, should do so through under addressing the existing challenges of the locale in order to achieve the creation of an urban regeneration catalyst. One of the fundamental challenges for the Allatini Mills and its locale is the lack of collaborative approach and broader communication of the needs of each involved community instead of maintaining an individualistic attitude. The argument of this thesis is reinforced by the literature introduced in Chapter 2, which emphasises on the effectiveness of the participation of different communities in decision-making instead of the top-down formation management, both in terms of the end result and the strengthening of community attitude (Roberts et al, 2016; Xie, 2015; Beriatos and Papageorgiou, 2012; Smith, 2011; Tsenkova, 2002).

The new knowledge generated by this study is the shaping of the various challenges for the industrial heritage of Thessaloniki, informed by the lessons of the past whilst offering the space required for the recent creative initiatives to act as a new economic element with a sociocultural extension; an approach that has not been followed or planned in Thessaloniki thus far. As such, it generates an approach that can be used to shape the dynamics and the forces of mobilisation and cooperation in an industrial heritage regeneration project, presenting the local creative spaces as an alternative attributed use, while benchmarking a reference and enriching the knowledge for similar cases.

The Allatini Mills as a case study tells a really interesting story; a story that is intertwined with the economic history of the city and has significant social and

cultural aspects; a story of negligence in the recent present, with the perception of the industrial heritage solely as an economic opportunity; a story of an unsolved conflict between the community of action and the community of place due to the lack of common values and understanding. This study learns from the divisions of the past, so as to propose a more inclusive way of a planning practice approach for industrial heritage regeneration in the future.

8.2 Towards the creation of an urban regeneration catalyst in Thessaloniki

The current setting in Thessaloniki is the result of a prolonged period of cultural and urban change that has been affected by the economic crisis of the last ten years and is instigated by state and local authorities. Leveraging my double role as a researcher and as a local of the city, I have attempted to challenge the individualistic regeneration approach used in industrial heritage and, through the case of the Allatini Mills, to perform an in-depth examination. Therefore, the conclusions provided in this section are crucial to determining how this thesis informs current knowledge on the subject and how it uses that knowledge, combined with observations from the literature review, for the formation of a more comprehensive way of guiding the future approach of regeneration of industrial heritage in Thessaloniki in advance.

The premise of this thesis acknowledged that a community's values, memories, and identity are attached with the built-heritage of a city (Nora, 2011; Boyer, 2006; Lewicka, 2008; O'Reilly et al, 2017), and, thus, these aspects are explored in this study through the re-narration of the historical significance of the Allatini Mills. Interpreting the study's findings, it comes out that the Allatini Mills has a dynamic and multi-faced nature because, firstly, it acts as essential evidence of an economic era shaped by merchants, workers and trade unionists, while signalling the city's architectural and economic development. Secondly, its immaterial evidence lies in the stories and memories of the community of place, making them be more attached to this place. In parallel to the archival narratives, the emerging narratives of the community of place suggested that the Allatini Mills is not only a monumental, unique and tangible place for the locals, but also a reinforcement point of neighbourhood unity. However, one main challenge that

this study has found is that the material and immaterial narratives were not incorporated by the community of action in the planning practice and, according to Meurs (2016), this misconception creates a polarisation of the attachment between the community of place and built-heritage. Although the Allatini Mills were proven to be part of the collective memory of the city, this aspect was disregarded by the community of action leading to reactions by the community of place. These reactions were characterised by questioning the integrity of the proposal at first, and then trying to negotiate a revised regeneration plan that respects the memory of the place. As such, the study concurs with Dillon et al (2014) and advocates that the community of place engages emotionally with the Allatini Mills, which consequently leads this study to conclude that the intangible aspects are instrumental in promoting community's attachment and identity belonging. By adopting a more inclusive regeneration approach, according to MacDonald (2013), the fear of converting the industrial heritage into *memoryland* is minimised and a more recognisable and perceptible regeneration scheme comes to the fore for locale, while strengthening their identity and bringing them closer to the industrial heritage. This creates a feeling of inclusivity towards heritage and shapes the sense of well-being of individuals further.

The fact that the community of action and the community of place did not have homogeneous values was also confirmed by the recent urban narrative of the Allatini Mills. The investigation of personal, conscious and subconscious articulations proved particularly valuable in understanding the challenge of urban regeneration in the future. In particular, the literature has informed this study that residents, economic actors and statutory authorities within the city make decisions and take actions which configure the urban environment and consequently its industrial heritage (Smith, 2011; Simiti, 2015; Oevermann and Mieg, 2015; Harrison, 2018). Similarly, the same attitude was revealed during the analysis of the case-study, as each community under investigation turned out to be active and take actions that reflected their beliefs and interests towards the Allatini Mills. Conceptual dichotomies and disparities are identified between the aspirations of the community of action and the community of place, which caused significant intra-community friction; outlining one of the main challenges.

Another outcome of this study was that a regeneration scheme and the valuation of industrial heritage only in economic terms is ill-suited to meet the needs of the community of place and is unable to take these needs effectively into account without any prior collaboration; an observation in line with previous studies on industrial heritage (Claval, 2007; Xeil, 2015; Harrison, 2013; Garcia, 2004). Moreover, the orientation of the heritage owners towards profits led to their detachment from the community of place (i.e. in terms of engagement and accountability) and this, in turn, resulted in the detachment of the latter from the local heritage. Under this light, it was argued that limited physical and mental access to industrial heritage sites has instilled a culture of emotional and cognitive detachment of the locale. This led the thesis to conclude that an additional challenge to be overcome is the community of action to become more sensitive towards and respectful of industrial heritage values in order to pursue long-term sustainability. It is therefore essential to prioritise the democratisation of cultural heritage narratives by setting them on the industrial heritage regeneration agenda and negotiating their planning practice and objectives with a wider segment of the community.

The fact that the myopic interpretation of the community of place by the community of action led to the development of sentiments of mutual hostility was also confirmed by the present case-study (Pullan and Baillie, 2013; Viejo-Rose, 2007), as the community of place organised themselves into a cohesive group in order to assert their place in the Allatini Mills. This unity played a very important role and proved stronger than the individualistic behaviour, affecting the end result and leading to the cessation of the regeneration project. It was empirically demonstrated that a group of members that belong to the same community and act under a common goal are able to improve attachment to and interaction with heritage by using it as a reference point. However, this unity did not prevent the heritage owners from continuing to support their own approach, maintaining a course of action that proved to be disastrous for the heritage. The imbalance of power, resources and knowledge played an important role in pre-defining the regeneration attempt, influencing both the preservation of heritage and the behaviour of both communities. On the one hand, the disagreement on the project was constructive, as it increased the cohesion and the participation of the community of place towards matters pertaining to heritage but, on the other hand,

it generated conflicts and lack of cooperation that determined its present derelict state. This shows that the challenge of redefining the friction that appears in such projects can facilitate the preservation of heritage for present and future generations, as simply trying to undermine one of the involved actors would render the Allatini Mills regeneration impossible. Establishing a decision-making practice to meet the needs and the ambitions of both communities equally from the beginning of the project is crucial in communicating and presenting potential alternatives for the regeneration. This thesis stresses the need to leave the *antiparochi* behind, as it has a solely top-down attitude and puts heritage in jeopardy (Dragonas, 2014), enabling it to move forward towards the comprehension of the wider social agenda that exists in the city. This will help a regeneration project reach a point where it will work as a catalyst in the city.

In addition, another challenge is drawn around the market as a partner or a burden on the regeneration of industrial heritage and the attitude of the communities towards it. The way the market is perceived and the fears of heritagisation are strongly related to how much space the market gives to the community and how much space the community gives to it (Yuen and Johnson, 2017). The balance between these two acts as supplementary force towards a common beneficial goal. In the case of the Allatini Mills, the market – as represented by the heritage owners – acted as an enabler that accommodates the needs of the community of place, whereas should a more agreeable opinion towards the market forces be formed, it can motivate the regeneration. This is in contrast to the community of place, who perceived the application of the market needs in the regeneration as a burden against their needs. However, the perception of both communities was influenced by the prevalent conditions and they did not leave space for other alternatives to be explored. Consequently, the understanding of the market and parallel socio-economic development of the area surrounding the Allatini Mills is blurred through detachment and monolithic perceptions. Although in the last ten years many urban regeneration schemes on industrial heritage have been implemented worldwide, the practices of the previous decade in Thessaloniki are still obscured or fragmented. As a result, there is not any development and shifting point on this aspect of culture towards different exploitation scenarios of built-heritage. Therefore, if we want to save the industrial heritage in Thessaloniki, there is a need to depart from ‘object-centric’

authorised discourses and become more inclusive in terms of community needs by guarantying the heritage status to sites, places, and practices invested with communal meanings (Dillon et al, 2014). As Watkins and Beaver (2008, 27) suggest, heritage needs to be “a living thing that evolves and adapts to changing situations and human needs or it will become nothing more than an empty shell”.

Moving to the community of interest, the study made a significant contribution to knowledge by generating a definition for the marginalised creative industries in Thessaloniki, as the definitions are very dependent upon the context of the city or country they refer to. This allows for a greater visibility to be achieved on the particular sector through this study and also for the creation of a basis for future studies so as to facilitate the expansion of empirical knowledge on creative industries of Thessaloniki. The examination of this part of the community led this study to conclude that they constitute an answer to both the economic crisis and the high rate of unemployment, as they allow for the creation of alternatives with new possibilities towards creative expression. However, one of their main challenges is the lack of trust among the creative workers due to the lack of existence of a cooperative sustainable practice. This lack stems from the limited cooperation they enjoy, since past experiences do not let the creators rely on others when it comes to expressing their creative side, necessitating the initiation of a collaboration with structured characteristics where, for example, some roles will be defined in unison – such as appointing representatives to adjudicate points of contention.

By examining the possibility of the community of interest to be considered as an appropriate use for an industrial heritage like the Allatini Mills, what emerged is that the creation of hubs for arts and crafts is in greater need than one more shopping mall, a luxurious hotel or any other consumer-centred facility. As such, the community of interest argues that the existing situation offers an opportunity to reconsider the approach taken and find alternative solutions to the problems that emerged because of the crisis. The role of industrial heritage is reconsidered as a source of intellectual and material resources and as a source of inspiration for the creative process, granting a sense of continuity in the former industrial space, as seen in the example of the *LX Factory* (Xie, 2015). Therefore, the co-location of the creative industries in Thessaloniki may allow their cooperation,

enable the pooling of resources together, assist them in being more inclusive and, consequently, offer them a level of visibility in order to transcend the “word of mouth” as a means to become visible. As is noted in the secondary research, the increased level of visibility offers confidence to the creators for their work and helps them to assert their position of the creative industries in the city along with enhancing their identity (Staber, 2008; Pratt, 2011). This close relationship between the creative industries and their co-location in industrial heritage has been a debate in urban regeneration studies during the last years (Andres and Gresillon, 2013), since several post-industrial areas that are suffering from decline are now in the epicentre of being transformed into an area of creativity, knowledge and skills (Hutton, 2006; Jarvis et al, 2009; Booyens, 2012; Pappalepore et al, 2014). The successive waves of crisis and the resulting financial shortages in planning under austerity have increased the number of vacant places that are now viewed as areas with economic potential and opportunity (Evans, 2009; He and Gebhardt, 2014). The benefits that these regenerations can bring both to the creators and to the area were highlighted through the literature in Chapter 2, along with their ability to influence the urban agenda as they represent a different notion of ‘urbanity’ (Groth and Corijn, 2005).

After the deep empirical exploration of the challenges of the Allatini Mills, this study reached in the overall conclusion that the emergence of a new approach for the regeneration of the particular place is inevitable. As a way forward, the new knowledge generated by this study deals with the context-shaping, motivational and cooperative dynamics and forces of the collaborative planning practice that facilitate a sustainable industrial heritage regeneration. The core of this premise is that it will create an environment where the communities in question will be able to pursue their common interest through performing the necessary reforms and adjustments. Such adjustments are the cultivation of relationships of trust between the communities with the main aim of regenerating industrial heritage. This collaborative planning approach will serve as a framework for empowering communities as well as cultivate a culture of participation in the privately-owned industrial heritage sites of Thessaloniki. A key element of this approach, according to Bevir (2013) and Ron (2016, 30), is that it inevitably requires time from all three communities for the gradual transformation that needs to occur so that collaborative governance for industrial heritage

regeneration can become effective and act as a “shared process of becoming”. Considering both primary and secondary research, a collaborative approach may be a form of renegotiation and recognition of the Allatini Mills regeneration in order to overcome the simplified fixed dividing lines of the management traditions of the past (Table 11). Based on the main challenges, the future regeneration of the Allatini Mills needs to be oriented towards sustainable development, social cohesion, interaction between different communities, a sense of unity in neighbourhood, protection of material and immaterial heritage, increase in the city’s attractiveness and a structured cooperation among the creative spaces. Nevertheless, this framework provides a useful summary of the key challenges that need to be considered when transitioning to an alternative plan for the urban regeneration of industrial heritage.

Reflective process	**Future challenges**
Where are we? • Indications of inaccessibility • Management failures • Urbanix exploration • Dereliction of industrial heritage sites	***Where do we want to go?*** • Collective ability to visualise a better future for built-heritage • Shared vision for the industrial heritage and its regeneration
Why are we here? • Unsustainable practices of the past • Shared responsibility on multiple entities without clear accountability • Absence of space for creative expression	***How will we get there?*** • Identification/balance of past difficulties • Collaboration as a process of becoming

Table 11: Moving from reflection of industrial heritage's capacity to community's aspiration (author’s own, 2019)

8.3 Limitations and the possibilities for further study

As with any case-study approach to research, there are certain limitations which need to be pointed out so that the research performed can be contextualised. Highlighting these limitations is important, as they can help the reader develop a critical approach to the thesis and facilitate planning future research avenues and areas of study.

Being a case study, this research adopts some of the characteristics of the selected industrial heritage in answering the research question. As was mentioned before in Chapter 4, it is important to note here again that each industrial heritage has its own social, cultural, institutional and civic specificities that can define its initial circumstances. Although as a method, it facilitates the in-depth assessment of the conditions and dynamics prevalent in the case study, it is important for future work to understand the parameters under which these findings can be generalised. As such, the approach is useful to follow in other cases; the findings, however, would need to be adjusted to each case's particularities.

The final form of the relationship between the communities under investigation in this thesis need time to explore and understand in depth, but due to the limitation of time and resources, the researcher could not apply methods such as participatory design that are more effective in cases where complex relationships are present. The limitation extends to the lack of opportunity within this research to arrange follow-up interviews and cover different viewpoints uncovered during the analysis phase of the data, so as to obtain a more objective approach. This thesis, however, opens the path towards the use of such tools in the future, as it builds the foundation upon which the communities can be approached. It also allows for the systematic study of collaborative dynamics and social actors' behaviour within the context of Thessaloniki in order to further extend the knowledge of collaborative planning in industrial heritage regeneration projects.

On this point, the study recognises that the findings and suggestions proposed are informed by the lessons learned discovered and an underlying personal vision (bias) that have shaped them. The final form that such a collaborative regeneration project – in its democratic, representative manner – can take, depends heavily on the intricacies that the involved communities agree upon, should a cooperation stage as described in Chapter 7 commence. These, for example, do not exclude a mixed-use approach that would involve both individualistic and communal characteristics in the form of residential and creative areas with open-access green spaces to the public. However, the present finding does achieve an initial contribution to knowledge, as there is no such project planned in Thessaloniki yet.

This bias is partially explained by the fact that the researcher has an emotional attachment to the city of Thessaloniki and has prior experience with its community of interest, as explained already in Chapter 1. Through the interaction with these two elements, I have recognised that the element of collaboration is missing from the city as demonstrated in Chapter 7. However, this is partly justified as my participation in several workshops and conferences during the years of my research have revealed that such approaches have gained serious momentum when it comes to the preservation/regeneration of heritage and are being deployed across Europe. Although this is a limitation in the strict sense of the word, it is an approach validated by several independent researchers to me; hence its impact is not considered to dramatically alter the nature of the research.

8.4 Final conclusion

Overall, this study makes a significant contribution to the literature. It brings together a cross-disciplinary collection of major theoretical concepts from memory, heritage and creative industries studies, regeneration projects, community theory and governance to frame a novel multi-dimensional inquiry into the subject of local and creative community involvement in the regeneration of an industrial heritage site in Thessaloniki. It applies a methodological framework that introduces new challenges to research on the subject and by doing so it provides, for the first time for Thessaloniki, empirical evidence to support the creative sector's engagement in the regeneration of industrial heritage. The proposed challenges are particularly useful for informing future processes that can pave the way for sustainable and vibrant industrial heritage regeneration in Greece in order to work as a catalyst for a city.

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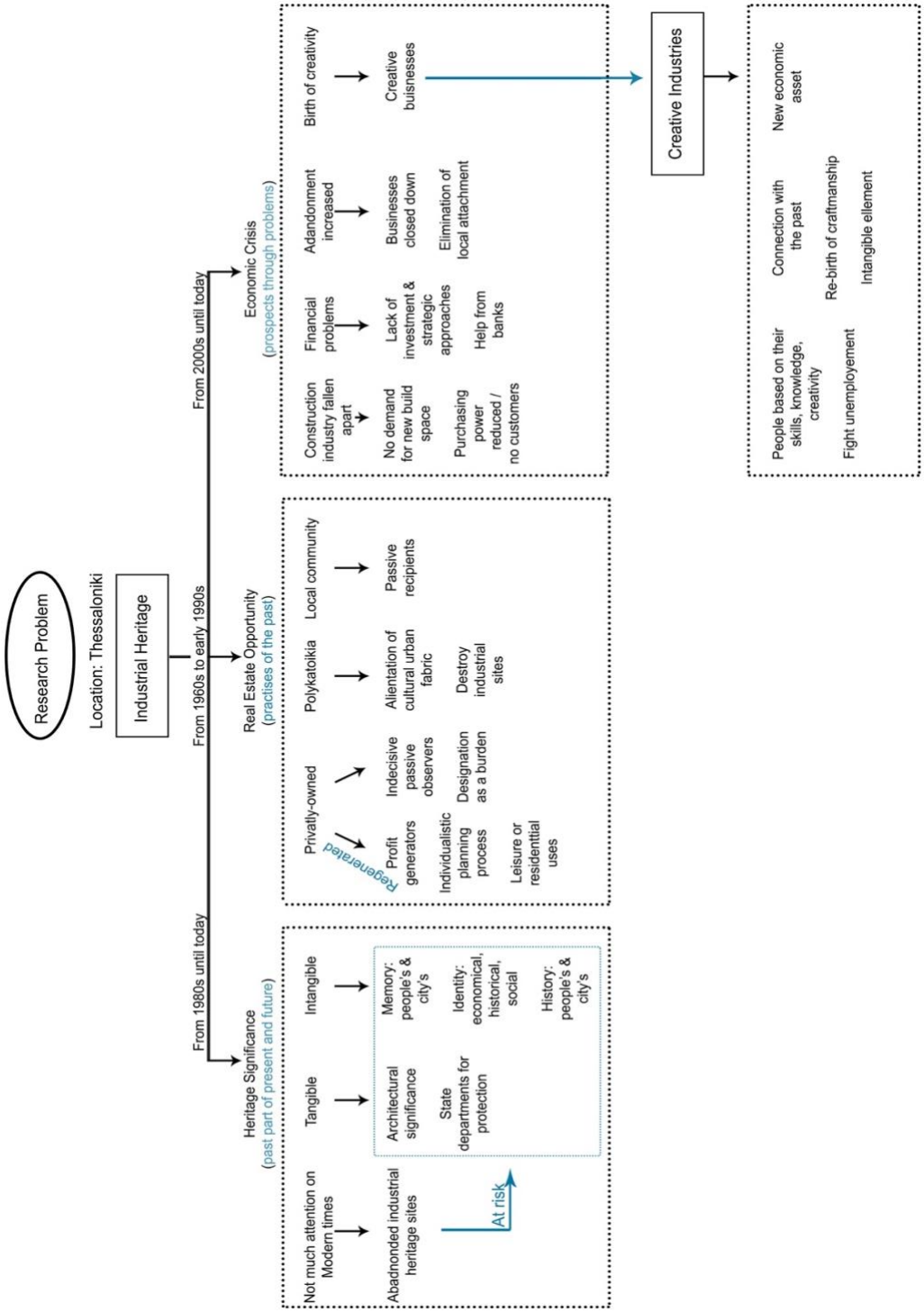
Appendix A. A diagrammatic exploration of the main research problem

This diagram illustrates the main research question in relation to the study area of Thessaloniki. It moves around the main topics under exploration and the main problems that derives from them. This diagram is an attempt by the researcher to engage the broader researcher area with the specific study area.



The participants of the online survey during the pilot study

Name of the creative initiative	Field
Chromatoscopio	Crafts
Creativity Platform	NGO
SheSharp	Technology
Code it Like a Girl	Technology & Education
Thessaloniki walking tours	Guided tours
Robotixlab	Technology & Education
BorderHACK	Technology & Education
Brain Produced Music	Art
AddArt	Art & Culture
SKG Nodejs Meetup	Technology
SKGTech	Technology
Koumpi Coffee & Crafts	Crafts
Purple Games	Crafts & Publishing
FEAST	Crowdfunding
STAMP	Festival

Appendix B. Online survey

This survey was designed for the pilot study in order some preliminary data to be revealed in relation to Thessaloniki's creative workers.

Dynamic Approach of the Creative groups of Thessaloniki

I am currently undertaking a research study (PhD student) to find out about the dynamic approach of creative groups inside Thessaloniki's society and the positive effects that can contribute to the whole economy of the city and I am really interested in your opinions. This study is being undertaken in school of Archotecture and Design at the University of Lincoln (UK).
The findings will be used to better inform my research study on the difficulties and amenities facing a creative group nowadays and how this can be translated into a design proposal.

I would be really grateful if you could answer the 27 questions in this questionnaire. This should take 10 minutes to complete.
Please click on the answer, which most closely matches your group's view for each question. If you wish to add further comments, you will be able to do so in the space provided at the end of the questionnaire. If you decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason.If you choose to withdraw, your answers will not be saved. All information you provide will be treated in the strictest confidence. Your identity and that of your group cannot be linked to your answers.

The answers from your questionnaire will be used as data for my research study report and for my final design proposal thesis.

If you have any questions or would like any further information, please do not hesitate to email or call me:

Anastasia Samara
10232120@students.lincoln.ac.uk
anastsamara@gmail.com
+30 6947722210

I hope that you will take part and will find completing the questionnaire interesting and thought provoking.

To help and take part, please click on the link to the questionnaire:
https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1HqBxOo91xqCgr39pZSSf9AOI78wMTS2Wgdn8NzrPAuA/viewform?usp=send_form

Thank you in advance for your time and effort,

Anastasia Samara

PhD candidate
University of Lincoln
Brayford Pool,
Lincoln
LN67TS

* Required

Part 1: About the Creative Group

1. **Name of the group:**

2. **Established:**

   Example: December 15, 2012

3. **Location:**

4. **Field/discipline:**

5. **How many people work for the group?**
   Mark only one oval.

   - 2
   - 3
   - 4
   - 5
   - >6

6. **and in which capacity** *
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	>5
Owner					
Co-owner					
Technical assistant					
Volunteer					

7. **How easy do you think it was to create this creative group?**
Mark only one oval.

- Very easy
- Somewhat easy
- Not too easy
- Not at all easy

8. **In which point do you think that your work contributes?**
Mark only one oval.

- Locally
- Culturally
- Socially
- Economical
- Personally
- Other: _____

9. **Do you think that your work is part of the cultural sector of Thessaloniki?**
Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

10. **What are the biggest problems in implementing your creative ideas?**
(Multiple answers possible)
Check all that apply.

- [ ] Financial support
- [ ] Finding qualified personnel
- [ ] Finding suitable premises
- [ ] Contribution of the local community
- [ ] Rejection of law
- [ ] Other: _____

11. **How many projects do you implement per year?**
(on average)
Mark only one oval.

- 1-5
- 5-10
- 10-15
- 15<

12. **The importance of choosing the location of your creative space:** *
Put 1 against what you found most important, 2 against the next most important and so on down to 5, for the least important.
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Proximity with monuments					
Proximity with restaurants/cafeterias/bars					
Proximity with shopping centre					
Proximity with cultural centre					
Proximity with natural environment					

13. **Do any of your activities take place in a building with historical significance?**
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) No
- ( ) Not sure

14. **and if Yes, do you think that plays a important role to your activity?**
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) No
- ( ) Not sure

15. **What do you think is the most important influence on the success of the creation of more creative groups in the next two years?**
(Multiple answers possible)
Check all that apply.

- [ ] Cultural sector support
- [ ] Financial support from the government, organisations etc
- [ ] Local community support
- [ ] Creative clusters or incubators
- [ ] Other: _____

16. **Is your occupation solely a source of livelihood?**
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) No
- ( ) Not sure

17. **Is the creation of this group a result of economic crisis or value based?**
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) A result of economic crisis
- ( ) Value based
- ( ) Other: _____

Part 2: Network Relations

18. **Are your activities only based in local networks?**
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Yes
- ( ) No
- ( ) Not sure

19. **For your group, how important is networking / exchanging ideas with...?** *
Put 1 against what you found most important, 2 against the next most important and so on down to 5, for the least important.
Mark only one oval per row.

	1	2	3	4	5
Other creative groups / self-employed in the same industry in Thessaloniki (e.g. for cooperation and joint projects)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Other creative groups / self-employed in other areas of cultural and creative industries in Thessaloniki (e.g. for cooperation and joint projects)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Company / self-employed in other sectors in Thessaloniki (e.g., industrial companies, commercial companies as customers and clients)	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

20. **Do you think that the concentration of creative groups in one place would enhance the cooperation with the creative industry sector?**
Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

21. **Is there any interest of the residents of your area to the actions that you are providing as a creative group?**
Mark only one oval.

- Always
- Frequently
- Seldom
- Never

22. **How often do the residents of your area participate in your activities?**
Mark only one oval.

- Very often
- Moderately often
- Slightly often
- Not at all

23. **Does your creative group co-operate with other creative groups in the same sector?**
Mark only one oval.

- Always
- Frequently
- Don't know
- Seldom
- Never

24. **Does your creative group locate in the same space with other creative groups in the same sector?**
Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

25. **Does your creative group co-operate with other creative groups in different sectors?**
Mark only one oval.

- Always
- Frequently
- Don't know
- Seldom
- Never

26. **Does your creative group locate in the same space with other creative groups in different sectors?**
Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

Part 3: Financial Information

27. **Is there any financial support from the local government to the actions that you are providing as a creative group?**
Mark only one oval.

- Always
- Frequently
- Seldom
- Never

28. **Has your group ever applied for a local government grant?**
Mark only one oval.

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

29. **How would you describe the situation of your creative team in relation to the economic crisis?**
Mark only one oval.

- It has not been seriously affected and there is not such case
- It has not been seriously affected but there is such fear
- It has been affected seriously but will be improved
- It has been affected seriously and is in danger

30. **What financing options did you open in the last two years?**
(Multiple answer possible)
Check all that apply.

- [ ] Donation
- [ ] Private grants
- [ ] Crowdfunding
- [ ] Scholarships
- [ ] Family support
- [ ] Public funding
- [ ] None
- [ ] Other: _____

Part 4: Creative Industries

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Google Forms

Visited places for archival records for the Allatini Mills (author's own, 2018)

Name of Archive
Central Library of Thessaloniki
Historical Centre of Thessaloniki
Historical Archives of Macedonia (ΓΑΚ)
New industrial premises of Allatini LTD.
Jewish Community of Thessaloniki
Cultural Centre of Central Macedonia
Society for Macedonian Studies
Piraeus Bank Group Cultural Foundation
National Bank of Cultural Foundation
Hellenic Federation of Enterprises (ΣΕΒ)
Federation of Industries of Northern Greece (ΣΒΒΕ)

Appendix C. Letter of support to grant access in archival records

This letter of support was provided to all the organisations that requested from the researcher to provide an evidence of research for the Allatini Mills case study, since the access to the archival records were only allowed upon request.

UNIVERSITY OF
LINCOLN

Lincoln, 24/06/2017

To whom it may concern:

This is to confirm that Anastasia Samara is a PhD student at the School of Architecture & Design, University of Lincoln, United Kingdom, where she is carrying out her research under my supervision.

Anastasia's research is concerned with the analysis of Allatini Mills, the industrial building and site, located in Georgiou Papandreou and Laskaratoy St., Thessaloniki 546 46. Through her research Anastasia is looking both at the old and more recent history of Allatini Mills. Therefore, in order to be able to carry out her research, Anastasia needs to access all the documentation concerned with the aforementioned building and site.

I would be really grateful if you could grant access to Anastasia to the relevant information/documents and if you could assist her with her archival research.

If you require any further information regarding Anastasia's research and progress, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours faithfully,

Anna Catalani

Dr Anna Catalani | Reader
School of Architecture & Design
University of Lincoln Brayford Pool Lincoln LN6 7TS United Kingdom
www.lincoln.ac.uk 0 1522 83718 acatalani@lincoln.ac.uk

Appendix D. Semi-structured interview questionnaire with the community of place

The interviews with the community of place followed a semi-structured format. The questions that are presented here were the main questions of the interviews but in some cases, there were some follow up questions due to the flow of the discussion and, thus, additional information was provided. Prior to the interviews, there was, firstly, an invitation that the researcher sent to the participants and after their acceptance the researcher provided a consent form to be signed by the interviewee.

Questionnaire: Community of place
PART A – Background
A1. For how long you have lived here?
A2. What is the special characteristic of your neighbourhood?
A3. Which is the biggest problem of this neighbourhood regarding the everyday life?
PART B - The Allatini Mills industry
B1. What do you know about the of Allatini Mills history?
B2. How do you evaluate the existence of Allatini in your neighbourhood?
B3. Do you address Allatini as a symbol of your area? *If yes* what is “distinctive” about it?
B4. How the Allatini Mills existence contributes to the sense of belonging?
PART C - The regeneration attempt
C1. How the Allatini Mills’ stakeholders communicated to you the regeneration attempt?
C2. What do you think that about this attempt in terms of the proposed uses?
PART D – The future of the area and the Allatini Mills
D1. Which would be for you the most suitable use for the Allatini Mills?
D2. Do you think that local community participation in the Allatini Mills regeneration would be important?

Appendix E. The consent form provided to all the interviewees

The following consent form was signed by all the interviewees before the beginning of the interview in order to give the permission to the researcher to use the provided data. All the signed forms have been kept by the researcher in a safe place which is locked, and no one can have access except of the researcher. In this way, the researcher tried to ensure that there are no ethical implications during and after the interviews.

Date: _____

About: The Allatini Mills industry

Consent Form

Name: _____

I am interested in being interviewed as part of the research project being undertaken by the University of Lincoln, UK.

I have read the information contained in the letter about the project and the interview process.

I understand what I am being asked to do, and what the purpose of my involvement is.

I am aware that I can withdraw from the interview process at any time.

I am happy to be interviewed by Anastasia Samara in order to contribute in this research.

I agree for the safely store, publish and future reproduction of the data that I will provide through the interview.

Signed: _____

Appendix F. Semi-structured interview questionnaire with the community of action

The interviews with the community of action followed a semi-structured format, where, according to the member of the action interviewed, the questions were slightly changed in each case. This change was mainly depended on the role that each member had during the regeneration attempt.

Questionnaire: Community of action
PART A - Background
A1. What are the notable characteristics and the biggest problems of the area where the old Allatini Mills industry is located?
A2. How many people from your office involved in the aforementioned architectural proposal? which were their specializations?
A3. Why and how did you get involved in the regeneration project of Allatini Mills?
PART B - The Allatini Mills as a part of the industrial heritage
B1. To what extend are you aware for the history of the old Allatini Mills industry? what exactly do you know?
B2. Which do you think is the specificity of this building?
B3. Which do you think are the reasons for the lack of interest in protecting the industrial heritage of Thessaloniki?
PART C – The regeneration attempt
C1. To what extent were there design constraints during the proposal?
C2. To what extent were there any financial difficulties during the attempt?
C3. *About the proposed uses*: How did the basic idea arise?
C4. To what extent would the proposed uses contribute to the local's community benefit?
C5. Which was the role of the owners during the decision-making process?
C6. To what extend did the characterization of Allatini Mills played a role as part of the cultural/industrial heritage to the design of the architectural proposal?
PART D – The economic benefits
D1. *About the proposed uses:* How would they contribute economically to the local community?
D2. To what extent was the proposed uses determined by the economic benefits of the owners?
D3. Who do you think should benefit economically from such regenerations?
D4. Who were the people that you collaborated in order to integrate this project?
D5. To what extent do you think that the owners of Allatini Mills were informed about the notion, values and role of industrial heritage?

PART E - The role of the local community
E1. How would the local community that lives in the area of Allatini Mills integrated into the uses that you proposed?
E2. *About the architectural proposals concerning the re-use of industrial heritage*: What do you think should the role of the local community be?
E3. How and why was created the group of residents against the study of "Allatini State"?
PART F - The future of the Allatini Mills
F1. *If you had the opportunity to be involved again with the regeneration of Allatini:* What would be your approach?
F2. What is your point of view on the regeneration of industrial heritage via community participatory methods?
F3. To what extent could a bottom-up approach work for the Allatini Mills?

Appendix G. Semi-structured interview questionnaire with the community of interest

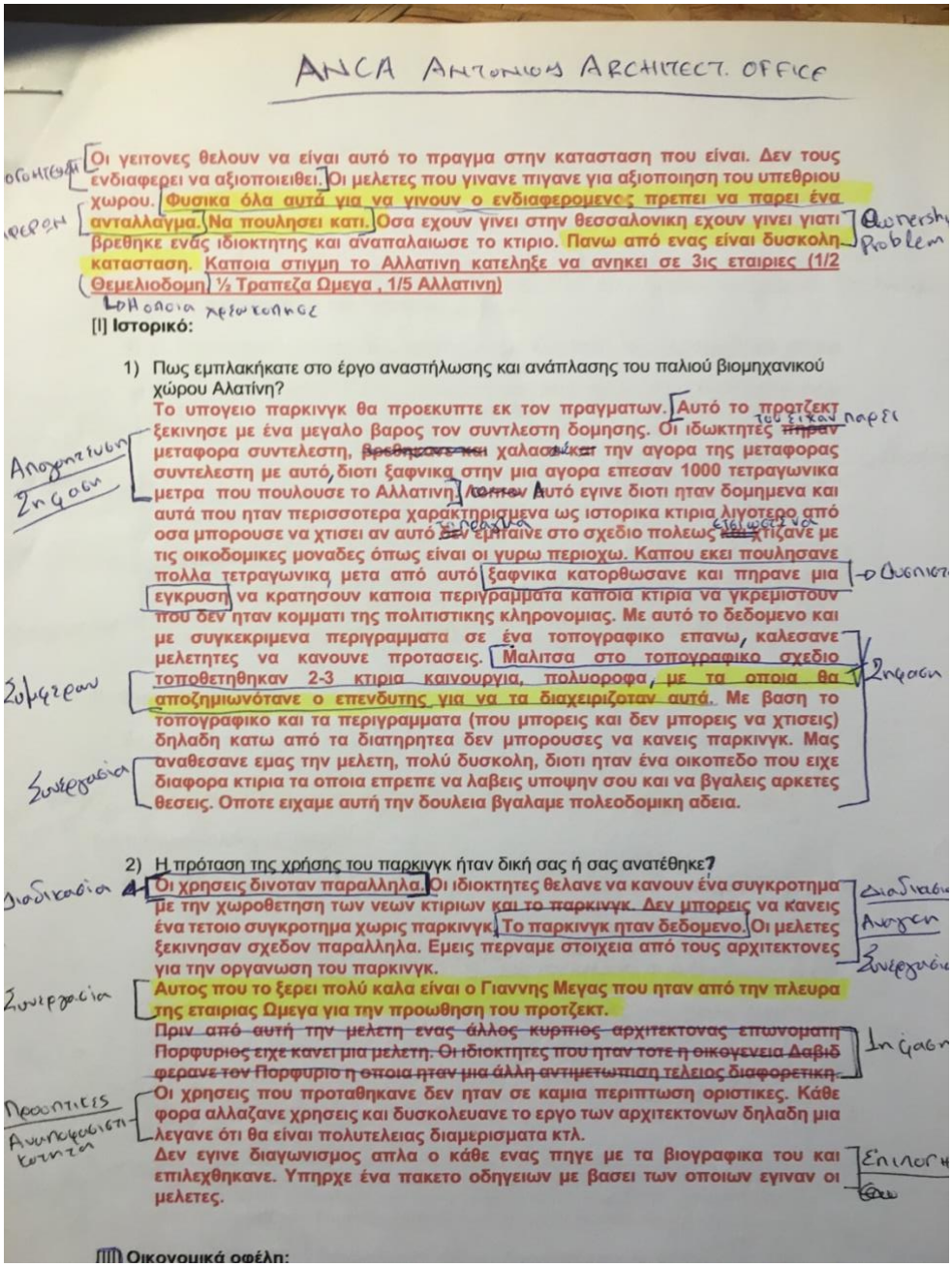
These questions were asked to the community of interest and particularly to the creative workers who run the creative spaces in Thessaloniki. All the parts of the questionnaire were designed in order to get as much information as possible since there was not any prior research for these spaces.

Questionnaire: Community of interest
PART A - Background *Established:* _____ *Discipline:* _____ *Employees/ Partners:* _____
A1. Which is the idea behind this space? (inspiration, reasons etc)
A2. Which were the difficulties/conveniences during your establishment?
PART B - Creative vibrancy
B1. Which is the process of your creative work?
B2. What makes your product identity distinctive? is there any cultural or social aspect of the product?
B3. What are the biggest problems in implementing your creative ideas?
B4. Which is/was the effect of your space settlement in this neighbourhood?
PART C - Creative economy
C1. Which are the most important characteristics/skills in order someone to be part of your business?
C2. How open are you to engaging/involving new people in your business?
C3. Which is the innovative part of your business and your identity?
C4. In which fields do you need support in order to improve your activity?
PART D - Enabling environment
D1. What is your relationship with the local government?
D2. Why and how did you choose the specific area of your business?
D3. To what extent local community supports your activities/products?
D4. To what extent are you sharing your skills or collaborating with other creative people? and how important is it to you?
D5. What are the most important factors in order to collaborate with other creative spaces?

D6. How will you describe the situation of your creative business in relation to the economic crisis and in general the Thessaloniki's setting?
PART E - The future of your business and Thessaloniki
E1. Which is the biggest challenge of our epoch?
E2. What do you know about creative industries and creative economy?
E3. Which is the key to success for the creation of more spaces like yours?
E4. How the future of the creative spaces in Thessaloniki will be?
E5. *If you had the chance to collocate your activity with other creative spaces inside an industrial heritage site of Thessaloniki* to what extent would you be part of such an action?

Appendix H. Example of a coded interview transcript

In this appendix is presented a sample of transcription that the researcher did in order to extract the main codes. This transcription is in Greek because the answers were also given in the same language and the extracted codes are: disappointment, personal benefit, ownership problems, design process, distrust, cooperation, neighbourhood needs, vision, indecision, comprehension of the actors, individualism and elitist nature of use.



ANCA ANTONIOU ARCHITECT. OFFICE

Οι γειτονες θελουν να είναι αυτό το πραγμα στην κατασταση που είναι. Δεν τους ενδιαφερει να αξιοποιειθει. Οι μελετες που γινανε πιγανε για αξιοποιηση του υπεθριου χωρου. Φυσικα όλα αυτά για να γινουν ο ενδιαφερομενος πρεπει να παρει ένα ανταλλαγμα. Να πουλησει κατι. Οσα εχουν γίνει στην θεσσαλονικη εχουν γινει γιατι βρεθηκε ενας ιδιοκτητης και ανάπαλαιωσε το κτιριο. Πανω από ενας είναι δυσκολη καταστασή. Καποια στιγμη το Αλλατινη κατεληξε να ανηκει σε 3ις εταιριες (1/2 Θεμελιοδομη) ½ Τραπεζα Ωμεγα , 1/5 Αλλατινη)

[I] **Ιστορικό:**

1) Πως εμπλακήκατε στο έργο αναστήλωσης και ανάπλασης του παλιού βιομηχανικού χώρου Αλατίνη?

Το υπογειο παρκινγκ θα προεκυπτε εκ τον πραγματων. Αυτό το πρατζεκτ ξεκινησε με ένα μεγαλο βαρος τον συντλεστη δομησης. Οι ιδωκτητες πηραν μεταφορα συντελεστη, χαλασανε την αγορα της μεταφορας συντελεστη με αυτό, διοτι ξαφνικα στην μια αγορα επεσαν 1000 τετραγωνικα μετρα που πουλουσε το Αλλατινη. Αυτό εγινε διοτι ηταν δομημενα και αυτά που ηταν περισσοτερα χαρακτηρισμενα ως ιστορικα κτιρια λιγοτερο από οσα μπορουσε να χτισει αν αυτό δεν εμπαινε στο σχεδιο πολεως. Ασχολιοσε με τις οικοδομικες μοναδες όπως είναι οι γυρω περιοχω. Καπου εκει πουλησανε πολλα τετραγωνικα, μετα από αυτό ξαφνικα κατορθωσανε και πηρανε μια εγκρυση να κρατησουν καποια περιγραμματα καποια κτιρια να γκρεμιστουν που δεν ηταν κομματι της πολιτιστικης κληρονομιας. Με αυτό το δεδομενο και με συγκεκριμενα περιγραμματα σε ένα τοπογραφικο επανω, καλεσανε μελετητες να κανουνε προτασεις. Μαλιτσα στο τοπογραφικο σχεδιο τοποθετηθηκαν 2-3 κτιρια καινουργια, πολυοροφα, με τα οποια θα αποζημιωνότανε ο επενδυτης για να τα διαχειριζοταν αυτά. Με βαση το τοπογραφικο και τα περιγραμματα (που μπορεις και δεν μπορεις να χτισεις) δηλαδη κατω από τα διατηρητεα δεν μπορουσες να κανεις παρκινγκ. Μας αναθεσανε εμας την μελετη, πολύ δυσκολη, διοτι ηταν ένα οικοπεδο που ειχε διαφορα κτιρια τα οποια επρεπε να λαβεις υποψην σου και να βγαλεις αρκετες θεσεις. Οποτε ειχαμε αυτή την δουλεια βγαλαμε πολεοδομικη αδεια.

2) Η πρόταση της χρήσης του παρκινγκ ήταν δική σας ή σας ανατέθηκε?

Οι χρησεις δινοταν παραλληλα. Οι ιδιοκτητες θελανε να κανουν ένα συγκροτημα με την χωροθετηση των νεων κτιριων και το παρκινγκ. Δεν μπορεις να κανεις ένα τετοιο συγκροτημα χωρις παρκινγκ. Το παρκινγκ ηταν δεδομενο. Οι μελετες ξεκινησαν σχεδον παραλληλα. Εμεις περναμε στοιχεια από τους αρχιτεκτονες για την οργανωση του παρκινγκ.

Αυτος που το ξερει πολύ καλα είναι ο Γιαννης Μεγας που ηταν από την πλευρα της εταιριας Ωμεγα για την προωθηση του προτζεκτ.

Πριν από αυτή την μελετη ενας άλλος κυρτιος αρχιτεκτονας επωνοματι Πορφυριος ειχε κανει μια μελετη. Οι ιδιοκτητες που ηταν τοτε η οικογενεια Δαβιδ φερανε τον Πορφυριο η οποια ηταν μια άλλη αντιμετωπιση τελειος διαφορετικη.

Οι χρησεις που προταθηκανε δεν ηταν σε καμια περιπτωση οριστικες. Κάθε φορα αλλαζανε χρησεις και δυσκολευανε το εργο των αρχιτεκτονων δηλαδη μια λεγανε ότι θα είναι πολυτελειας διαμερισματα κτλ.

Δεν εγινε διαγωνισμος απλα ο κάθε ενας πηγε με τα βιογραφικα του και επιλεχθηκανε. Υπηρχε ένα πακετο οδηγειων με βασει των οποιων εγιναν οι μελετες.

Οικονομικά οφέλη:

3) Η χρήση του παρκινγκ ήταν βασισμένη σε οικονομικά οφέλη? (δημόσιο/ιδιωτικό)

Διαδοχικοτητα

Ενημερωση

Μετά από όλα αυτά βγηκε μια τελεσίδικη αποφαση με την οποια ανακληθηκε η δικη μας οικοδομικη αδεια, ενώ ο Μακριδης και ο Τομπαζης δεν βγαλανε αδεια. Μετα εγινε και ένα πανήγυρι στον χωρο για να ανακοινωσουν τα σχεδια του προτζεκτ κτλ.

Πρωτα βγηκε αδεια για το παρκινγκ, μετα εγινε παρεμβαση. Μελετη, ανακοινωθηκαν τα σχεδια και μετα πηγαν να ζητησουν

[IV] **Ο ρόλος των κατοίκων της περιοχής:** αδεια

4) Η αρχιτεκτονική μελέτη έγινε γνωστή στους κατοίκους της περιοχής? και αν ναι υπήρξαν αρνητικές/θετικές αντιδράσεις σχετικά με αυτή?

Ενεργεια

Ελιτισμος

Κατανοηση

Δυσπιστια

Απορριψη

Αυτοι που αντιδρασανε πολύ ηταν αυτοι που θα εμποδιζοταν από τα καινουργια κτιρια και θα χανανε την θεα προς την θαλλασσα. Εγινε μεγαλος πολεμος και απορω πως το κερδισαν οι κατοικοι γιατι η άλλη πλευρα εβαλε δικηγορους πολύ γνωστους. Ξεκινησε μια ομαδα πρωτοβουλιας και γυρνουσε στα διαμερισματα και ενημερωναν τον κοσμο. Εγιναν συνελευσεις κατοικων. Το καταλαβαινω να διαφωνισεις με την αρχιτεκτονικη λυση αλλα δεν μπορεις να εχεις και πολύ διαφορετικες αποψεις. Η αποψη τους ηταν ο δημος να εξαγωρασει το συγκροτημα, μην το αφηνεις στον ιδιωτη και να κανει την αναπλαση. Είναι ένα κομματι τοσο μεγαλης αξιας που ο δημος δεν εχει την δυνατοτητα να κανει κατι γιατι χρωσταει σε ολο τον κοσμο. Θα ηταν ισως η καλυτερη λυση να το παρει ο δημος αλλα αν σκεφτεις καπου πρεπει να μπει νερο στο κρασι γιατι όλα αυτά που υπαρχουν σε λιγο δεν θα υπαρχουν. Καποια στιγμη θα αποδειχθει τι κριμα που δεν το καναμε.

Collective

[V] **Βιομηχανική κληρονομία της Θεσσαλονίκης:**

5) Ο χαρακτηρισμός του Αλατίνη ως κομμάτι της πολιτιστικής/βιομηχανικής κληρονομίας έπαιξε ρόλο στην μελέτη και στον σχεδιασμό της αρχιτεκτονικής σας πρότασης?

Πολιτιστικη Κληρονομια

Εμεις δεν ειχαμε καποια σχεση με αυτό γιατι ειμασταν υπογειο παρκινγκ.

[VI] **Η Θεσσαλονίκη το 2016/17**

6) Αν σας ξαναδινόταν η ευκαιρία να ασχοληθείτε σήμερα με την αξιοποίηση του χώρου Αλατίνη, θα προτείνατε την ίδια χρήση?

Ζωηλιδης Ο.

Το παρκινγκ είναι κατι αναγκαιο για έναν τετοιο συγκροτημα. Το οραμα μου θα ηταν να βαλω λιγο νερο στο κρασι μου και να εβλεπα αυτές τις κατοικιες που δημιουργησαν το μεγαλο προβλημα. Ηραν την εγκριση από το υπουργειο για αυτά τα κτιρια.

Νομοθεσια

Οραμα

Αυτό το συγκροτημα θα μπορουσε να είναι το τελος μιας ζωνης ελευθερου χωρου το οποιο θα ηταν σε συνεχεια με τον ελευθερο χωρο του Μεγαρου Μουσικης και Ποσειδωνιο να ηταν μια ενωση ολων αυτων με την θάλασσά και να φτανει μεχρι την οδο ανθεων και να την περασει ισως. Δηλαδη να δωσεις την δυνατοτητα στην μαζα της κατοικιας της από πισω να συνδεθη με την θάλασσα και να ξεπερασει το ποταμι των αυτοκινητων. Αυτό θα γινοταν μονο σε προτζεκτ δημοσιου.

Individualism

Εμεις δεν εχουμε αποψη για την μελετη που γινοταν από επανω. Ουσιαστικα στην πραξη θα φαινοταν κατά ποσο σωστη ηταν η όχι. Από την μια πλευρα ηταν το ονομα του Τομπαζη που δεν μπορεις να το παραδεις.

Ελιτισμός

Star architect.

Εργο – 2004-2006 / Επιφανεια 13.000τμ / Προυπολογισμος 13.000.000 / 380 θεσεις παρκινγκ